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THE BEAR CULT AMONG THE ASSINIBOIN AND THEIR NEIGHBORS OF THE NORTHERN PLAINS

JOHN C. EWERS*

SEVENTY YEARS AGO Alice C. Fletcher called attention to the prevalence of animal cults among the Siouan tribes of the Great Plains. She observed that each cult was composed of individuals who had obtained supernatural power from the same mammal or bird through a dream or vision and that each cult possessed a distinctive ritual and ceremonial regalia symbolic of the animal from which its power was derived.[1]

Recently James H. Howard has described the Heyóka Cult among the Dakota tribes.[2] Although Heyóka members obtained their power from the thunder, this cult possessed the salient characteristics of the Siouan animal cults—notably the concept of dream origin, the observance of a distinctive ritual, and the employment of specialized regalia. It would appear proper to group the Heyóka and the animal cults under a common classification of dream cults.

In the literature on the Indians of the northern Great Plains may be found a number of brief references to bear ceremonies among the Algonquian, Siouan, and Athapascan (Sarsi) tribes of that region in the nineteenth century. Although these references suggest the widespread occurrence of a Bear Cult among these tribes, they do not analyze the Bear Cult of any tribe sufficiently to provide a factual basis for comparative study.

During my field work among the Assiniboin Indians of Fort Peck Reservation, Montana, in the summer of 1953, Henry Black Tail, a full-blood member of that tribe (aged ca. 78 years), imparted to me his recollections of the Assiniboin Bear

* Published by permission of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

1 Fletcher, 1884, pp. 276-282.

2 Howard, 1954, pp. 254-258.

Cult. He was not a cult member. It has been many years since that cult was active among his people. Nevertheless, Henry Black Tail's testimony sheds considerable light upon the complex of traits identified with the Assiniboin Bear Cult and renders more meaningful the scattered references to bear ceremonies among neighboring tribes reported in the literature.

THE ASSINIBOIN BEAR CULT

Membership: Black Tail recalled that the Assiniboin Bear Cult was composed of a small number of men who had obtained supernatural bear power through dreams. Their bear power was not transferred to fellow tribesmen during their lives nor was it inherited by relatives after their deaths. When a cult member died "his power went with him."

Most Assiniboin Indians feared bears, as Denig pointed out more than a century ago.[3] They knew bears to be powerful, vicious animals that had killed women and children when they were collecting wild fruits and berries. Most Assiniboin also feared members of the Bear Cult. It was thought that those who possessed bear power were touchy men who easily became angered. Bear Cult members also had the reputation for being unlucky. Even if they appeared to prosper for a time their good fortune did not last.[4]

Bear Cult Paraphernalia: A distinctive shirt, hair dress, and face paint, the bear knife, the bear shield, and the bear-painted tipi were paraphernalia of the Assiniboin Bear Cult.

When participating in cult ceremonies, when doctoring the sick or fighting the enemy, cult members dressed in the manner illustrated in Figure 1. This is an adaptation of a drawing by Joshua Wetsit, my interpreter, which was executed from detailed information supplied by Henry Black Tail and under his critical eye. The cult member shaved the top of his head and rolled some of his hair at each side into a ball resembling a bear's ear. He painted his face red, then made vertical scratches on each side of his face by scraping away some of the paint with his fingernails. (These scratch marks represented a bear's claw marks.) He then painted a black circle around each eye and around his mouth. He wore a bear-claw necklace over a yellow-painted skin shirt. This shirt was perforated with many cut holes and was decorated with cut fringes along the bottom edge and the sleeve ends. A small,

3 Denig, 1930. pp. 537-538.

4 Fletcher (1884, p. 281) reported an Oglala belief that bear power was unlucky "as the bear is slow and clumsy, and apt to be wounded; and although savage when cornered is not as likely as some animals to escape harm."

rectangular flap of skin, cut from the garment itself, hung down at the center of the wearer's chest. Black Tail did not know the significance of this flap.

When going to war or participating in cult ceremonies the member carried a distinctive knife composed of a broad, flat, double-edged metal blade to the handle of which was attached a bear jaw. This weapon was known to the Assiniboin as a "bear knife."

Fig. 1. Dress for the Assiniboin Bear Cult.

In combat a member might also carry a rawhide shield bearing on its front surface a painted representation of a bear.

Black Tail also recalled a bear painted tipi formerly owned by a Bear Cult member. It has been thirty or more years since this tipi was set up. The greater part of the cover was painted yellow. There was an area of black paint at the top. Two bears were painted over the yellow background in a dark color. One stood at each side of the doorway. Maximilian saw and described a similar tipi owned by an Assiniboin chief near Fort Union in 1833. It was

> painted of the colour of yellow ochre, had a broad reddish-brown border below, and on each of its sides, a large black bear was painted (something of a caricature it must be confessed), to the head of which, just above the nose, a piece of red cloth, that fluttered in the wind, was fastened, doubtless a medicine.[5]

Carl Bodmer, the talented Swiss artist who accompanied Prince Maximilian to the upper Missouri, made a drawing of this bear-painted tipi[6] (see Plate 1).

5 Maximilian, 1906, vol. 23, p. 19.

6 *Idem*, Atlas, Plate 16.

It seems reasonable to infer that the owner of this tipi was a member of the Assiniboin Bear Cult, and that in 1833 the decorative pattern of the bear painted tipi was very like that of the cult tipi of my informant's memory.

Bear Cult Functions: Henry Black Tail recalled three major functions of the Assiniboin Bear Cult: (1) the conduct of ceremonies in honor of the bear (including the bear feast and the ceremonial bear hunt); (2) aggressive participation in war expeditions; (3) doctoring the sick.

When cult members gathered for the bear feast they sang their distinctive bear songs. Each member was served a large bowl of berry soup ("Bears love berries—their favorite food"). They vied with one another to see who first could consume his portion of soup. No meat was eaten at these cult feasts. Members observed a strict taboo against eating bear meat. Joshua Wetsit recalled that Pipe, a member of the Assiniboin Bear Cult, once ate some bear meat before he realized what it was. He appeared to throw a fit but finally was calmed when other Indians induced him to smoke a pipe.

The ceremonial bear hunt was enacted by an individual cult member with the assistance of several boys at the summer Sun Dance encampment. The member erected his tipi inside the camp circle. He dressed in his bear outfit (previously described) and covered the upper part of his body with a buffalo robe which was tied over his head to resemble the head of a bear. He emerged from his tipi (symbolic den) carrying a bear knife in each hand. The boys on horseback shot at him with guns loaded only with powder. He would fall down as if wounded, then get up and chase the mounted boys until he had made a complete circuit of the camp circle and returned to his lodge.[7] Black Tail said that when he was a boy he had peeped into a Bear Cult man's tipi shortly after the owner had returned from reënacting this hunt. He saw the man "lying on his bed at the rear of the lodge, breathing heavily. His two bear knives were stuck in the ground beside him."

When a member of the Bear Cult went into action against the enemy he wore his distinctive bear outfit with accompanying hairdress and face paint and carried a bear knife. Bears were noted for their ferocious charges. When a cult member charged he "made a noise like a bear" which was not a growl but a "huh, huh."

Cult members again wore their specialized garb when they doctored sick people. However, they never performed curing ceremonies in public. Black Tail gave no details of their medicines or procedures employed in curing rites.

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7 Note the similarity of this action to that of the Assiniboin winter bear hunt described by Denig prior to 1855: "When a den is discovered six or eight Indians go to attack it, approaching the hole so close as to see the foremost bear, there three of them fire, the others reserving their shots. They all run off some distance and if the animal, or any other pursue them, the rest fire" (Denig, 1930, p. 538).

Death of a Cult Member: Both Wetsit and Black Tail described the actions of Pipe preceding his death in ca. 1920, aged about seventy years. For four nights prior to his death Pipe was heard to make strange noises like those of a young bear whining. He stuck out his tongue, which appeared to be pointed. All the Indians in attendance were frightened by these actions. They attributed them to Pipe's bear power exerting itself, aiding him in his struggle against death.

COMPARATIVE DATA

Let us now compare this fairly detailed description of Assiniboin Bear Cult organization, paraphernalia, and functions with what is known of bear ceremonies among other tribes of the region. The tribe most closely related to the Assiniboin is the Yanktonai. Not only are the Assiniboin traditionally considered an offshoot of the Yanktonai but these two tribes have shared the same reservation (Fort Peck) since the 1870s. Henry Black Tail had witnessed some Yanktonai Bear Cult ceremonies in his youth. He thought they were much like those of the Assiniboin except that two or three Yanktonai cult members chased the mounted attackers in their ceremonial bear hunt and the Yanktonai Bears doctored in public. He once saw them doctor a sick child. The cult leader held a rawhide rattle in one hand and sagebrush in the other. He placed the sagebrush in his mouth and blew out a substance that resembled powdered yellow paint. Other cult members in attendance at this curing rite carried bear knives.

Writers on the Eastern Dakota were much impressed by their performance of the ceremonial bear hunt. Stephen Long heard of it in 1817, and Samuel Pond described it in 1834. No mention of the bear knife appears in these descriptions. "To lengthen his arms so that he could walk on all fours" the bear "carried hoops in his hands which he used as paws."[8] Yet Lowie's Santee informants told him that the performer held a wooden knife in the same hand as the hoop. They referred to the ceremonial bear hunt as a prelude to the departure of a war party and to the belief that the first person to lay his hands upon the "bear" would kill an enemy.[9] Wallis repeatedly mentioned "bear feasts" given by those who had dreamed of bears, and one of his references to "members of the bear feast" suggests a degree of organization of those who possessed bear power among the Eastern Dakota.[10]

Among the Teton Dakota bear power was highly regarded as a curing agent. The Oglala Bear Cult was composed of men who had dreamed of bear power. When one of them gave a feast all bear medicine men and those who had been

8 Long, 1889, pp. 18-19; Pond, 1908, p. 419.
9 Lowie, 1913a, pp. 121-122.
10 Wallis, 1947, pp. 84, 89, 140, 181, 189.

cured by bear medicine were invited. Participants at this feast wore bear costumes, painted their bodies red, and danced mimicking the actions of bears.[11] One of Miss Densmore's Teton informants said, "The Bear is the only animal which is dreamed of as offering to give herbs for the healing of man." Another informant added, "We consider the bear as chief of all animals in regard to herb medicine, and therefore it is understood that if a man dreams of a bear he will be expert in the use of herbs for curing illness."[12]

Bowers' one line characterization of the Mandan Bear Ceremony is significant as an indication of the purposes of it. Among the Mandan this rite was associated with "doctoring and warfare."[13]

Other Siouan tribes of the Great Plains more remote from the Assiniboin had organized Bear Cults. The Iowa society known as Grizzly Bear Dance was composed of individuals who obtained their power from the grizzly bear. Functions of the society were directed toward curing the sick. In society dances the members feasted and imitated the actions of bears.[14]

Entrance into the Omaha secret society known as Mo^{n}chu'ithaethe ("those to whom the bear has shown compassion") was gained by virtue of a dream of the bear. This society had been defunct for a half century prior to Fletcher and La Flesche's study of the Omaha, which offers no specific information regarding its functions or paraphernalia.[15] Nor does Skinner's reference to the Ponca Bear Dance provide detailed comparative material other than the statement that the shooting of a lone member with a gun was an episode in the ceremony.[16]

Still farther afield among the Siouan tribes, Radin found among the Winnebago "a society possessing the powers of healing disease in which membership . . . is restricted to members of the Bear clan." Among the Winnebago the Bear clan was the second most important clan in the tribe.[17]

There does not appear to have been any strong Bear Cult organization among Crow Indians, southwestern neighbors of the Assiniboin. Lowie found that in their Bear Song Dance "all those individuals who had in their bodies such animals as bears, eagles, horses, and the like would come together and display the supernatural presence within them, which was made to protrude part of its body from the performer's mouth." Lowie likened this ceremony to the "dream cult performances

11 Wissler, 1912b, pp. 88-90.
12 Densmore, 1918, p. 195.
13 Bowers, 1950, p. 108.
14 Skinner, 1915, pp. 714-715; 1926, p. 242.
15 Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, pp. 486-487.
16 Skinner, 1915, p. 792.
17 Radin, 1923, pp. 226-228.

of the Dakota inasmuch as all who had similar religious experience joined in a demonstration of their mystic relations."[18]

Of the Algonquian tribes of the northern Plains the Plains Cree were on the most consistently friendly terms with the Assiniboin. Mandelbaum briefly described the Plains Cree Bear Dance, which he found had been so long neglected that details of its performance were vague in the minds of his informants. They made no mention of distinctive paraphernalia. Nevertheless, their brief testimony revealed several functional parallels with the Assiniboin Bear Cult. There was feasting of those who had dreamed of bear power, the shooting of a gun followed by the scattering of participants "as though they were fleeing from a hunter." The Plains Cree ceremony was performed to bring about the recovery of a sick relative or to bring success in war.[19]

The nineteenth century Blackfoot appeared to lack any Bear Cult group organization. Nevertheless, they employed cult paraphernalia and performed ceremonial functions characteristic of the Assiniboin Bear Cult. Particular emphasis was placed upon the bear knife, which was for them a distinct ceremonial bundle, subject to purchase and ceremonial transfer from one individual to another. In the transfer ceremony "the recipient must catch the knife thrown violently at him and is also cast naked upon thorns and held there while painted and beaten thoroughly with the flat of the knife."[20] My Blood and Piegan informants told me that there formerly were several bear knife bundles among the three Blackfoot tribes and that their owners carried these knives to war. In 1847 Father Point, a missionary to the Blackfoot, learned of a Frenchman who, in a fight with those Indians "brought back . . . a bear knife, which is for the Indians what a (captured) floating flag is for civilized man," showing that the Blackfoot used bear knives in battle at that time.[21] Fourteen years earlier Maximilian saw and illustrated a bear knife of the Gros Ventre, a tribe then closely allied with the Blackfoot.[22]

Specimens of Blackfoot bear knives are preserved in the Museum of the Plains Indian, Browning, Montana (Cat. No. 835), and in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York City (Cat. No. 11/5086). A photograph of the former specimen, which has an elaborate feather and skin pendant, is reproduced as Plate 2. This bear knife was carried to war by Black Looks, a Piegan.

Wissler and Duvall have published a myth explaining the origin of the bear

18 Lowie, 1913b, p. 150.
19 Mandelbaum, 1940, p. 278.
20 Wissler, 1912a, pp. 131-134.
21 Point, 1931, p. 247.
22 Maximilian, 1906, vol. 23, p. 105.

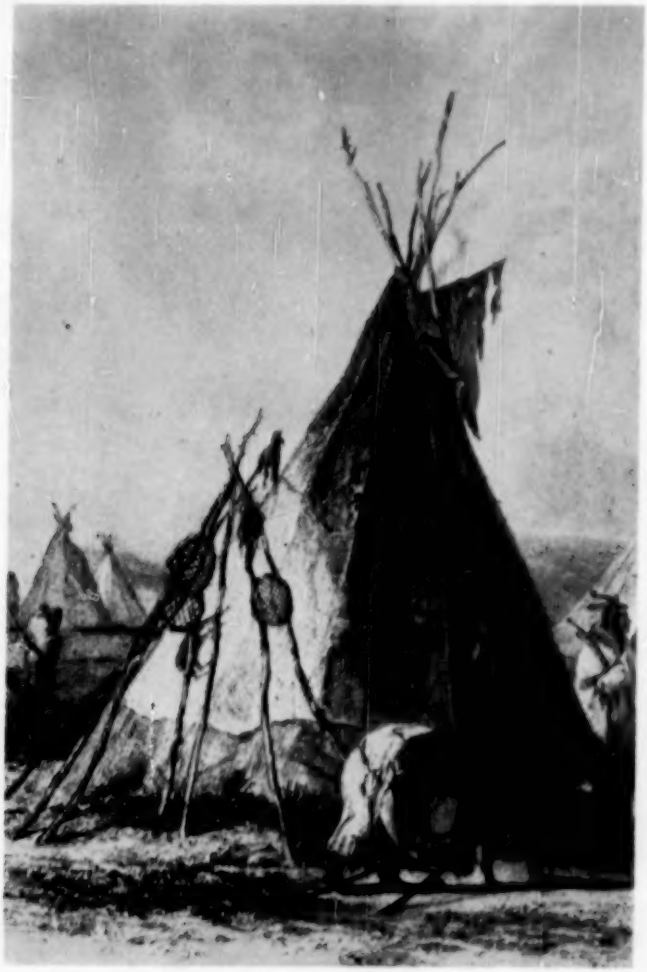
knife. I obtained a very similar version of this myth from the Piegan, Fish Wolf Robe, in 1943. It recounts the transfer of the bear knife and other objects associated with bear power to a mixed Sarsi-Piegan by a family of bears. Not only did the male bear ceremonially transfer the bear knife to the young man but he instructed him in the proper use of this knife in war, when the owner was obliged to paint his face red with scratch (claw) marks on each cheek and add black marks "representing the bear-face." At the same time the bears gave the young man a bear spear and two bear-painted tipis.[23] The tipi transferred by the female bear had red bears painted on its cover. This painted lodge was purchased by the Museum of the Plains Indian in the fall of 1943. The tipi presented by the male bear bore representations of bears in black paint. I saw the male bear painted tipi at the Blood Sun Dance encampment in 1942. The background of the cover was solid yellow. A solid black bear, standing on its hind legs, was depicted at each side of the doorway, facing it. The similarity between this painted tipi and the bear-painted tipi of the Assiniboin is marked. That the bear-painted tipi may be of considerable age among the Blackfoot tribes is suggested by Alexander Henry's mention in 1809[24] of Blackfoot tipis with rude bear figures on their covers.

Some of the paraphernalia and functions of the Bear Cult were associated with ceremonies of three of the Piegan men's societies. There were two to four members of the Pigeons, Braves, and All-Brave Dogs Societies who wore bear costumes which included perforated shirts with cut fringe edgings. The flap over the chest (mentioned in Black Tail's description of the Assiniboin bear shirt) does not appear in the Piegan shirts. Nevertheless, Wissler's illustration of the outfit of a bear member of the Braves shows a robe with a flap in it, which was worn in addition to the perforated shirt. During the ceremonies of these three societies the bear members drove the other dancers back four times, an action suggestive of the ceremonial bear hunt. They were also the first to partake of the ceremonial feast.[25]

Although later students of the Blackfoot tribes did not claim that these Indians emphasized the importance of bear power in curing rites, it is noteworthy that as early as 1832 George Catlin witnessed an attempt of a Blackfoot shaman to aid a dying man through his powers derived from the grizzly bear. This doctor wore a grizzly bear skin over his head and upper body in addition to bear bracelets and anklets. His bedside manner was featured by "grunts and snarls, and growls of the grizzly bear."[26]

The Blackfoot bear knife had its counterpart among the Sarsi, that small

23 Wissler and Duvall, 1908, pp. 95-98.
24 Henry and Thompson, 1897, vol. 2, p. 527.
25 Wissler, 1913, pp. 371-372, 377-388, and fig. 3.
26 Catlin, 1841, vol. 1, pp. 38-40, Plate 19.



BEAR-PAINTED LODGE OF AN ASSINIBOIN CHIEF
(by Carl Bodmer, 1833)

A PIEGAN BEAR KNIFE

Athapascan tribe composed of friendly northern neighbors of the Blackfoot. Sarsi bear knives were transferred ceremonially in the same fashion as those of the Blackfoot. The owner of a bear knife painted his face red and black before carrying the knife in war. One Sarsi bear knife bundle was said to have been made in consequence of a dream in which the bundle was given to the dreamer by a bear.[27]

The Cheyenne shared with other tribes of the northern Plains the beliefs that bear power could be obtained by individuals in dreams and that bears possessed great healing powers. Nevertheless, Grinnell's monograph on that tribe gives no indication of an organized Bear Cult. In the Cheyenne Massaum Ceremony (Animal Dance) those who possessed bear power participated, but apparently they played no more prominent roles than did persons whose powers were derived from other animals. Grinnell mentioned several bear-painted shields owned by Cheyenne Indians.[28]

Likewise, the literature seems to indicate that bear power received little prominence in Arapaho culture. They did have a group of bear doctors whose powers were originally believed to have been derived from dreams of that animal. However, the Arapaho had similar groups whose powers came from beavers, buffalos, foxes, horses, and lizards. Sister M. Inez Hilger found that an Arapaho might join one or several of these groups as an apprentice. "All groups were considered of equal value."[29]

CONCLUSIONS

Henry Black Tail's description of the defunct Bear Cult of the Assiniboin has provided a list of traits characterizing the organization, concept of origin, functions, and distinctive paraphernalia of the cult in that tribe. Comparative study of the Bear Cult among Siouan, Algonquian, and Athapascan (Sarsi) tribes of the Great Plains is handicapped by fragmentary nature of the data available in the literature on bear ceremonialism in these tribes. The fact that activities of the Bear Cult became decadent or disappeared entirely among them many years ago made difficult detailed analysis of the cult complex by field workers. Nevertheless, we now have sufficient information to demonstrate that the Bear Cult was widely diffused among the bison-hunting tribes of the northern and central Plains in the nineteenth century.

Employing the traits of the Assiniboin Bear Cult as a basis for comparative study, our limited data are still sufficient to reveal widespread similarities in the cults of the different tribes. The accompanying table provides a comparative analy-

27 Jenness, 1938, p. 89.
28 Grinnell, 1923, vol. 1, pp. 198, 201; vol. 2, pp. 105, 334.
29 Hilger, 1952, pp. 124-127.

TABLE 1

Distribution of Bear Cult Traits

Traits	Siouan tribes										Algonquian				Athapascan
	Assiniboin	Yanktonai	Eastern Dakota	Teton Dakota	Crow	Mandan	Iowa	Omaha	Ponca	Winnebago	Plains Cree	Blackfoot	Cheyenne	Arapaho	Sarsi
Organization:															
Members comprise organized ceremonial group	×	×	×	×		×	×	×	×	×	×			×	
Origin of bear power:															
In individual's dream	×	×	×	×	×	?	×	×	×		×		×	×	×
Through purchase												×			×
Functions:															
Bear power employed in curing sickness	×	×		×		×	×			×	×	×	×	×	
Bear power employed as war medicine	×		×			×					×	×			×
Ceremonial bear hunt	×	×	×						×		×	×			
The Bear Feast	×		×	×			×				×	×			
Paraphernalia:															
Bear shirt	×											×			
Bear face-painting	×											×			×
Bear knife	×	×	×									×			×
Bear-painted lodge	×											×			
Bear shield	×												×		

sis of the distribution of traits of the cult as we now know them. It is especially noteworthy that no trait mentioned by Henry Black Tail as characteristic of the Assiniboin Bear Cult was peculiar to that tribe. Certain traits were common to many tribes and *may* formerly have been common to all tribes of the region. The belief that bear power could be obtained in dreams, the employment of bear power in curing sickness and as a potent war medicine may be regarded as basic traits of the Bear Cult among both Siouan and Algonquian tribes. The degree and nature of cult organization differed. The most common Bear Cult organization seems to have been the type known to the Assiniboin, i.e. membership composed of individuals who had obtained bear power through dreams. Yet among the Winnebago membership was confined to the Bear clan, and therefore was of an hereditary nature. Among the Blackfoot and Sarsi there was no centralized Bear Cult organization. In these tribes bear power was in the possession of individuals who were privileged to transfer it to others via ceremonies akin to those employed in other ceremonial bundle transactions typical of those tribes.

Some evidence of the ceremonial bear hunt and the bear feast has been found among both Siouan and Algonquian tribes. Their occurrence in attenuated form in Piegan men's societies may indicate the incorporation of old Bear Cult traits into the ceremonial context of age-graded societies among these Indians.

The literature affords little information on the distribution of distinctive paraphernalia of the Bear Cult. Had we more detailed comparative data we might find that the paraphernalia were more widely employed than we can demonstrate now. We know that the bear knife was known to Siouan tribes other than the Assiniboin (Yanktonai and Santee) and that it received particular emphasis among the Blackfoot and their friends the Sarsi. The striking resemblances between the bear shirt, bear face-painting, and the bear-painted lodge of the Assiniboin and Blackfoot reveal historic connection between these traits even though the organization of the Bear Cults in these tribes was very different.

It is historically significant that concepts and practices typical of the Bear Cult among the Assiniboin and their neighbors of the northern Plains in the nineteenth century were known to tribes of the Eastern Woodlands in earlier times. The belief that Indians could obtain supernatural bear power in dreams was current among tribes of the Great Lakes region in the Colonial period. Prior to 1700, Cadillac described the use of bear power as a war medicine by the leader of an Ottawa raiding party. A likeness of the bear was delineated on the prow of that leader's canoe.[30] Marquette, in 1763, described a bear dance organized by a Huron woman, who had dreamed of bear power, in the hope that it would cure her sick-

30 Kinietz, 1940, pp. 251-253.

ness. Feasting and bear mimicry (growling like bears and pretending "to Hide Like bears") were features of that ceremony.[31]

In the light of these resemblances and the known westward movements of Siouan and Algonquian tribes in protohistoric and early historic times it appears reasonable to suggest that basic elements in the Bear Cults of these tribes during the nineteenth century were survivals from the days when these Indians lived in the forests. These migrants did not leave bear country behind. On the plains they encountered the grizzly, a stronger, more ferocious and more awe-inspiring animal than any they or their ancestors had known in the forests. Contacts with the grizzly must have tended to encourage their traditional beliefs in the supernatural powers of bears. Such an hypothesis need not rule out the possibility of modifications in Bear Cult organization and functions nor the probability of considerable changes in cult paraphernalia among these tribes after they reached the open country. It does appear that in the case of the Bear Cult we have a basic complex linking the cultures of the bison-hunting tribes of the northern Great Plains with those of the tribes of the Eastern Woodlands.[32]

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31 *Idem*, pp. 77-80.

32 Archaeologists are familiar with the occurence of bear jaws and bear teeth (both black and grizzly bear) accompanying burials of the Hopewell Culture and with the appearance of bear motives in Hopewellian art. This may suggest the possibility that prehistoric Ohio Valley Indians possessed a Bear Cult, even though likenesses of many other mammals and birds appear in Hopewellian art and burials pertaining to that culture yield disarticulated jaws and teeth of humans and animals other than the bear.

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EASTERN NEPALESE MARRIAGE CUSTOMS AND KINSHIP ORGANIZATION

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IN EASTERN NEPAL the Jimdārs (Rais) have a marriage system which differs rather strikingly from those of their neighbors. The Tibetans, the Lepchas of Sikkim, the western Nepalese, and the Indians of Bengal generally have arranged marriages. Among the Jimdārs, however, individual courtship seems to be the rule. There is an element of secrecy about this courtship. The alliance is announced as a *fait accompli* by the boy and girl, who do not reveal their new status to the girl's father until three days after the boy has taken her to his home. The Nepali term for this form of marriage is *chōrī bihā*, or theft marriage. It is also known by a more Hinduized term, *gāndhārvā bibhā*, and is believed to be very ancient, although still the most prevalent form of marriage among the Jimdārs.

Jimdār marriage customs and some aspects of their kinship organization will be described in the following pages. The information in this paper was collected from eastern Nepalese informants during a period of two months (January-March 1953) in the town of Darjeeling, West Bengal, India, located near the eastern border of Nepal. Darjeeling is heavily populated by Nepalese, most of whom are Jimdārs.[1] These Darjeeling Nepalese are a rather acculturated group, and so it cannot be assumed that the customs described by them are necessarily the same as those of Rais still living in Nepal. However, in many cases, their customs have probably remained the same. *Chōrī bihā*, at least, cannot have been borrowed from either the Tibetans or the Bengali Hindus who have influenced their culture in other respects.

No ethnologist has yet done field work among the Rais and Limbus in Nepal itself, although a few writers have briefly described some of their customs.[2] The present paper, being based upon oral testimony rather than close personal observa-

1 In 1931, out of a total population of 19,903, there were 10,449 Jimdārs in Darjeeling (Census of India, 1931: Bengal and Sikkim, vol. 5, part 2, Calcutta, 1933, p. 231). The older Rai families are constantly added to by new immigrants who continue to cross the border, principally to work in the tea-gardens of Darjeeling.

2 Brian Houghton Hodgson, *Miscellaneous Essays Relating to Indian Subjects* (Trübner and Co: London, 1880); Eden Vansittart, *Notes on Nepal* (Office of the Supt of Government Printing, Calcutta, 1896); W. Brook Northey and C. J. Morris, *The Gurkhas, Their Manners, Customs, and Country* (John Lane, The Bodley Head: London, 1928); Leonhard Adams, *The Social Organization and Customary Law of the Nepalese Tribes* (American Anthropologist, vol. 38, pp. 533-547, 1936).

tion, cannot close the gaps in our knowledge. More than half of my data, including the kinship terminology, came from a single informant, although I tried, whenever possible, to check his information with the three or four young men who served as my other informants. Their pooled information, however, seems to present a consistent picture which is in agreement with previously published accounts. Despite my awareness of its deficiencies, therefore, I would like to offer this paper for the light that it can throw on an interesting area little known to present-day ethnology. Let me express my gratitude here to the Jimdārs who served as my informants, especially to Mr. Kolsing Rai, my principal informant and interpreter. I am also indebted to H.R.H. Prince Peter of Greece, who read the first draft of this manuscript, and who offered some helpful criticisms.

CASTE

Although the Jimdār marriage system differs from the traditional Hindu form, the Hindu caste system has diffused into this area and plays a part in the choice of a marriage partner. A Jimdār youth will usually not court a girl of higher or lower caste status. However, there is some flexibility here, providing loopholes for those who wish to marry a person of another caste.

The Jimdārs, or Rais, were once a tribe or collection of tribes which, along with the Yākhā and Limbū tribes, formed the eastern Nepalese group known as Kīrāt or Kiranti, occupying the region between the Dudh Kosi River and the eastern border of Nepal.[3] But the Jimdārs now refer to themselves as a caste.

Ideally, under the present system, a Jimdār should marry a Jimdār, but may also marry a Yākhā or Limbū. These three groups are regarded as being on a plane of equality. They may not marry into higher castes, such as Brahman and Chettrī (Kshātriyā), nor may they marry into the castes below them—Gurung, Magar, Tamang, Kamī, Damāi, etc. Cooked black *dāl* may be accepted from members of the higher castes, but married men and women may not accept such food from inferior castes. This rule does not apply to unmarried men and women. No one, however, may accept water from an untouchable. A certain amount of intermarriage has taken place between Limbūs and Lepchas: these two groups are often

3 Northey and Morris, *op. cit.*, p. 213. According to Brian Hodgson, the Kiranti were once extremely powerful, their hegemony possibly extending as far as the Ganges delta before they suffered a series of defeats, of which the last and most decisive was at the hands of the Gurkhas (Hodgson, *op. cit.*, pp. 397-398). When the Gurkhas conquered the Kiranti tribes, the Gurkha kings established some of the Jimdārs as local rulers and gave them the title of "Rai," which means "Chief." Limbū headmen were given the similar title of "Subha." In the process of time the use of these names spread to include almost the whole population. Thus, Jimdārs are now called Rai, Limbūs Subha, while Yākhās are called Dewān. All the Jimdārs I met in Darjeeling had Rai for their last name (see Northey and Morris, p. 215).

found in close association.[4] Marriage with Lepchas is rarer among the Jimdārs and Yākhās, who do not seem to approve of such marriages.

Mechanisms are available for those who wish to marry someone of another caste. There used to be a formal ceremony whereby a non-Jimdār girl could be "adopted" as a Jimdār. On this occasion an elderly Jimdār asked the girl if she wished to become a member of his caste. If she said "Yes," he pierced the tip of her tongue with a needle made of pure gold. Some blood had to come out if the ceremony were to be considered effective. There are some Nepalese women in Darjeeling nowadays whose tongues have been pierced in this manner. However, a new adoption ceremony has been introduced, which is much simpler. One of my Jimdār informants recently married a (higher caste) Chettrī girl. This took place at Toong Soong, the particular village-community at Darjeeling which formed the focus of my studies. A member of his caste "adopted" the girl, making her a member of his caste. At a gathering of the more important men of the Jimdār community at Toong Soong, the girl distributed *dāl*, curry, and rice. Since her dishes were accepted, she was automatically accepted as a Jimdār. These adoption ceremonies, it should be added, would not be extended to untouchables.

COURTSHIP

From a western point of view, it would seem that the Jimdārs do not have the kind of training that would prepare them for free courtship. Boys and girls are segregated at an early age and play in different groups from around five or six. They are not encouraged to talk together and are expected to be shy. Nevertheless, in spite of this preparation, they apparently arrange their own marriages successfully. A girl is apt to reject a suitor above the age of twenty-five as being too old. Twenty, incidentally, is considered a bad age for marriage: it is better to marry at nineteen or twenty-one. The age of marriage is late in comparison to plains India. Sexual attractiveness is probably the main consideration in the selection of a marriage partner. Family is another important consideration.

Boys and girls are not supposed to talk together in public. In order to arrange meetings, therefore, they send messages through younger children, who act as go-betweens. In this way assignations are arranged. The boy and girl agree to meet in some secret place, where they will not be observed. It is customary for the boy to offer the girl *pān* (betel nut) or cigarettes on these occasions, for smoking is common among the women of this region. The boy's offer of *pān* is said to sometimes provide an opportunity for the working of love magic. This is known as applying *mohonī*. The boy is supposed to put something into the *pān*, which he buys

4 See Sir Joseph Hooker, *Himalayan Journals* (John Murray: London, 1854), vol. I, p. 138.

in the market, and then to recite love spells, which may be aided by theft of some of the girl's clothing. This practice, which is considered very evil, is believed to make the girl fall deeply in love with the boy. Boys are frequently reported to apply *mohonī*, but girls are not said to resort to it, in spite of the fact that it is women, rather than men, who are generally suspected of working black magic and casting the evil eye.

In the course of their secret meetings, which may become daily after a while, the boy may offer the girl small presents in addition to the *pān* and cigarettes. They will try to keep their liaison a secret as long as possible, but after a while people will begin to see the two together and guess what is going on. This public recognition may speed up the betrothal, or it may put an end to the courtship. If the girl's family does not approve of the boy, they warn him to stay away and to leave the girl alone. Fights sometimes break out between a suitor and the girl's brothers or cousins. But if the boy is acceptable to the family, there will be no interference. There may sometimes even be an element of parental arrangement in this courtship system, although it is subject to the free choice of the young couple. The girl's parents may hint to the boy's parents that their daughter would be available as a mate for their son. The boy's parents, in turn, may pass on the suggestion to their son, who may then arrange a private meeting with the girl. On the other hand, the courtship may be a purely private matter between the boy and the girl. Moreover, they may succeed so well in maintaining secrecy that the girl's parents may be genuinely surprised when they receive the announcement that their daughter has started living with the boy.

The clandestine meetings between the boy and girl may end if either begins to feel dissatisfied with the other. Consequently a boy or girl may have meetings of this kind with three or four possible mates before finally reaching an agreement. The courtship period lasts a few weeks or several months. During this time (at least, so I was informed) there is no love play. The young couple just talk together. It is said that the girl would be very ashamed to be touched.[5] Kissing does not seem to be a Nepalese pattern. The Nepalese in Darjeeling are familiar with the kiss, since Western movies are shown in the city and have become popular. They are nevertheless quite shocked by the amatory behavior of Hollywood heroes and heroines. Nepalese men and women never touch each other in public, I was told. One of my Jimdār informants (a married man) told me that men do not kiss their wives even when they are alone together; nor do mothers kiss their children.

5 Risley, however, writes: "Khambus [Rais] marry their daughters as adults, and tolerate sexual license before marriage on the understanding, rarely set at defiance, that a man shall honorably marry a girl who is pregnant by him" (H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Bengal Secretariat Press: Calcutta, 1891, vol. 1, p. 459). See also the section on adultery below.

MARRIAGE CEREMONIES

If the boy and girl are agreed after a series of clandestine meetings, the boy takes the girl to his home. He must inform his father about his new step, but will usually be afraid to do so directly. He is more apt to speak to one of the female members of his household, who will then convey the message to the father. One of my informants told me that he first approached his older sister; the latter spoke to his mother, and the mother then broke the news to the father. Meanwhile, the bride-to-be must wait in the street—perhaps for an hour or more—until arrangements are made for her reception.

At last, however, a special ceremony is performed to welcome her. A chicken is killed and some of its blood placed on three plantain leaves, which are set down just inside the door. The girl must step over the blood-smeared leaves when she crosses the threshold. This is known as a *sagũn*, a term given to an auspicious *rite de passage*. There are three *sagũn* for a girl in the course of her life—Naming Ceremony, First Feeding, and marriage. For a boy there is also the Haircut Ceremony, when his hair is cut in his third year by his maternal uncle. Some months are considered more auspicious than others for the marriage *sagũn*. Marriage should not take place during the month of *Pũs* (about January). *Mangsir* (about October) is regarded as the best month for marriages, for it is a time of plenty, a harvest season.

The girl lives for three days at the boy's home. During this time the two are regarded as man and wife, even though they have not yet notified the members of the girl's family, nor have they gone through the ceremonies which will validate their new status. The girl's parents may know where their daughter is, or they may realize that she has gone to live with a boy, although they may not be sure which one. In some regions it is customary for the girl to leave some money under her pillow on the day she goes to the boy's home. When her parents find this money the next morning, they realize what has happened. The girl's father then appoints two members of his caste to represent his family, in preparation for the negotiations which take place on the third day.

On this day two emissaries are sent to the girl's home by the boy's family. They are known as *kaliyã* and must be members of the boy's caste and familiar with the regulations concerning marriage. These two men meet with the *kaliyã* who have been selected to represent the girl's family. The girl's father is informed through these representatives where his daughter is staying. If he objects to the alliance, he may go to the boy's home to bring the girl back. But this is not so likely to happen.

Arrangements for the marriage festivities are made by the four *kaliyã*. A

jotishī, or Brahman astrologer, may be consulted to determine the best day for the wedding. Actually, there are two ceremonies. The first is at the boy's home, to which, curiously enough, no members of the girl's family are invited. Some time later a ceremony is held at the home of the girl's family, to which members of the boy's family come. At the first ceremony the girl is accepted by the boy's mother and father. The groom, who is completely dressed in white, applies a streak of red powder to the central parting in the girl's hair. Her own dress may be of any color, but is usually bright. She wears a green glass bead necklace of nine strands which has to be given on this occasion by the groom. He may also present her with some gold bangles and earrings, which may be put on the girl by his female relatives.

The climax of the occasion is the moment, known as *lagān*, when the boys' parents give their official recognition to the marriage by placing a rice *tikā* (forehead mark) on the brow of both boy and girl as they pronounce their blessings: "May you have a long life"; "Have plenty of children!"; "All happiness to you!" Similar sentiments are expressed by the guests, who also file by, applying a *tikā* to both bride and groom, and presenting a silver rupee to each. A brass *lotā* (bowl) with flowers should always be placed nearby when this is done, together with a lighted candle.[6].

Among some other Nepalese groups, such as the Chettrī, Newār, Gurung, and Magar, a Brahman *purohit* (priest) is called in to officiate at weddings. But among the Jimdārs there is no Brahman priest present on such occasions, and there is no reading from the Vedas. Nor are the bride and groom decked out with flowers and garlands. But, as in the weddings of plains India, there is an orchestra playing from morning till night. This is an orchestra of Damāis, the caste of tailors who provide music on such occasions. They always play outside the house, since they are untouchables. As in the plains, a feast follows the wedding. It consists of pork, curry, rice, and *dāl*. *Kodo*, a millet brew, must be served, presented in a bamboo bucket and sucked up through bamboo tubes.

The ceremony at the home of the girl's parents may take place two weeks later, or perhaps a month or two afterwards, depending upon everyone's convenience and perhaps also upon an auspicious time indicated by an astrologer. Two sums of money are given on this occasion by the family of the boy to the family of the girl. The first of these is known as *chōrī dandā* and is regarded as a fine which must be paid to the girl's father in atonement for the theft (*chōrī*) of the girl. In spite

6 "My informant tells me that it is not correct to say that a lighted candle should be placed with a brass *lotā* near the bride and bridegroom. It should correctly be a *diyo*, he tells me, that is a small crucible made of copper" (Prince Peter of Greece, personal communication).

of the fact that it is their ancient and still prevailing form of marriage, the Jimdārs seem to regard *chōrī bīhā* as being somehow less proper and correct than the much more rarely employed form of arranged marriage. This, at least, is implicit in the payment of the "theft fine," which may be about five rupees.

The attitude of guilt is underlined in a curious description of a Limbū marriage which appears in both Eden Vansittart's *Notes on Nepal* and in Sarat Chandra Das' *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet:*

> He [the bridegroom] brings, as a rule, three things—one bottle of arrack, the entire carcase of a pig, and a silver coin—as presents to the bride's parents. Just as he goes to make the presents to the bride's parents, they are bound to fly into a passion and threaten to beat him, whereupon he entreats them not to beat him, and tries to pacify them by producing another rupee from his pocket. The bride's parents then interrogate him in an angry tone, saying, "Why did you steal away our daughter?" and so on. When their anger subsides, he pays the price of the bride, which, according to his means and resources, varies from Rs. 10 to Rs. 120 or more.[7]

In addition to the *chōrī dandā,* the girl's family provides a sum known as *rīt bhāth,* or rules, regulations. Each member of the girl's family is offered meat, wine, and a silver rupee by the groom. Those younger than himself will be given eight annas and no meat or wine. The money thus expended is known as *rīt bhāth.*

All meat presented on this occasion must be pork. It is cooked at the girl's home by the women of her family, but the raw pork is brought to the house by members of the bridegroom's party, who carry it in a special basket made of bamboo, known as *perengo.* When the party arrives at the girl's home, rice is thrown at the young couple, a lot of noise is made, and blank cartridges may be fired. At this gathering, the girl's parents put *tīkā* on the foreheads of the bride and groom and give their blessings. The new son-in-law touches the ground before the feet of his wife's parents and the other elder members of her family. As on the previous occasion, there is no Brahman priest present. A Damāi orchestra may or may not play. A feast takes place, in any case, and the pork and wine are consumed. Festivities may last until late at night. Bride and groom spend the night at her parents' home, but the next morning he takes her to his own place.[8]

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7 Vansittart, *op. cit.,* p. 138. Sarat Chandra Das, *Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet* (John Murray: London, 1902), p. 11.

8 Prince Peter of Greece wrote the following comments on this section: "The first visit of the *kaliyās* (who may be more than two, but must always go in pairs, so that their number must be even—two, four, or more) is called *sodhanī.* Their second visit is named *maganī.* My informant tells me that the *perengo* is not a bamboo basket but a wooden pot which not only contains meat but also curds and two fish. It should be carried on the shoulders by means of two sticks tied on either side, and with it, although outside of it, go a hen and a cock and two bottles of wine. The fowl are killed at the girl's house by the bridegroom with his *kukrī.*"

One final ceremony takes place three days later. This is a visit paid by the newly married couple to the wife's former home. Nothing special occurs on this occasion, but the visit must be paid.

ARRANGED MARRIAGES

Less common than *chōrī bihā* but sometimes resorted to is the arranged or "Vedic" marriage. Under this system the parents of the boy decide upon a girl for their son, and two *kaliyā* are sent to the girl's home. They never bluntly state their purpose, leaving it to the girl's father to divine their intentions from hints and general references. On such occasions the *kaliyā* present him with two bottles of wine. This gift probably helps him to realize what they are after. The father says nothing on this occasion, however. A week or two later the *kaliyā* visit him again with two bottles of wine, this time framing their proposal in explicit terms. If the father of the girl agrees, the *kaliyā* ask him what marriage customs he wishes to have observed and how much *rit bhāth* he expects to receive. *No chōrī dandā*, of course, need to be offered in a marriage of this type. The wedding, if agreed to, takes place the same day at the girl's home. In all other respects the procedures are exactly the same as those described for the *chōrī bihā* ceremonies. The parents of the girl and all her relatives bless the young couple with *tīkā* and gifts. The next morning the groom takes his bride home. In either form of marriage the girl follows the custom of stepping over the blood-sprinkled plantain leaves at the door of the groom's home.

ZUWĀRĪ MARRIAGE

There is a third form of marriage which is very rare nowadays, but which still occurs now and then in the more rural regions. This is a marriage which results from a singing contest (*zuwārī*) between a boy and girl. One of my informants told me that his grandfather and grandmother had been married through a *zuwārī*. A recent case occurred at the town of Bijanbārī near the border of Nepal. In order to comprehend this custom, it must be understood that the improvisation of songs is an accomplishment highly developed among some Nepalese families. The tune is standard, but questions and answers are fitted to the music on the spur of the moment, so that two persons can keep up a kind of musical badinage for several hours. A spontaneous entertainment of this kind may develop at a *melā* when large numbers of pilgrims have gathered together for a sacred occasion. In the evening, when there is need for relaxation, some individuals may produce musical instruments, and a *zuwārī* may get under way. In such a setting it sometimes happens that an unmarried boy and girl become *zuwārī* rivals. The boy sings a song, concluding it with a question which she must answer. The girl sings a reply, ending

with a question for him. So it goes, back and forth, until one of the two contestants breaks down, unable to improvise quickly enough. If the girl wins the contest, the boy must bow before her and present her with a bottle of wine and some money. If the boy wins, he may make her his bride. As already noted, however, this form of marriage is quite rare.

ADULTERY

The former punishment for adultery consisted in cutting off the nose of the faithless woman and cutting off the head of her lover. Bishop describes an alternative Nepalese punishment for the man: he was made to crawl below the raised leg of the husband in humiliation.[9] These customs evidently belong to the past. I was told that nowadays, if adultery occurred in a household, the injured partner would be apt to leave, and a divorce would automatically take place. But, for various reasons, this does not always happen. A wife may continue to remain with a husband who is having an affair with another woman. If the latter is unmarried, the man may make her a second wife, for polygyny may be practiced. There is only one case of polygynous marriage at Toong Soong, but it is a common practice in Nepal itself. Usually the wives live in separate houses and maintain separate establishments. The second wife has less status than the first; no marriage rites are performed in her case. Her children have little claim on their father's property through inheritance. A man, however, uses the same kinship terms for her relatives that he employs for his first wife's relatives and follows the same patterns of respect, avoidance, etc. The second wife is likely to be younger than the first.

Another way of handling the issue of adultery is a standardized payment made by the lover of a woman to her husband. When the husband accepts this sum, he renounces all his claims upon the woman. This custom is associated with the saying *"Sāthī or kāṭṭī"* ("Sixty or cut"). In other words, the injured husband has a choice. He can either accept sixty rupees from the adulterer or he can cut the latter's throat.

If the woman goes off with the other man, her husband may send word to him that on a certain date he will appear to collect *zārikal*. This refers to the sixty rupees, plus whatever clothes and ornaments he may have given his wife before her infidelity. The local *panchāyat* (council) is summoned to appear on this occasion. In the presence of the *panchāyat* the clothes, ornaments, and the sixty rupees are handed over to the husband. Then, at the order of the *panchāyat*, the husband pulls open the buttons on the shirt of the adulterer. This gesture means that this man is now free. The husband now abandons all claims upon his wife; henceforth she belongs to the other man.

9 R. N. W. Bishop, *Unknown Nepal* (Luzac and Co.: London, 1952), p. 67.

A recent case of infidelity at Toong Soong was dealt with by an informal *panchāyat*, but this case involved some complicating factors which made it an untypical instance. An unmarried girl, not from Toong Soong itself, became pregnant, and alleged that a man at Toong Soong was responsible. An informal local *panchāyat* was drawn up by members of the community, before which the girl appeared to give her testimony. So far, this procedure is much the same as would have been followed in Nepal itself. If the girl had mentioned an unmarried boy as her lover, the *panchāyat* would then have seen to it that the couple were married as soon as possible. Even if the man were married, he could still have taken the girl as his second wife. But the complicating factor was this: the girl's lover in this instance was a married man who was a Christian. His religion did not allow him to take a second wife, and his wife did not want to leave him. So the *panchāyat* saw no way of arranging for the girl's marriage. They did summon the offender, however, and asked him to pay for the girl's maintenance, which he promised to do. This case is considered very shameful by the people of Toong Soong, and the girl is looked down upon by members of the community. I am told that in Nepal a girl with an illegitimate child would have been driven from her home.

RELATIONSHIPS WITH AFFINAL RELATIVES

Considerable respect is shown to parents-in-law by bride and groom, who remain quiet in their presence. A girl should not look at her father-in-law, although she need not actually avoid him. A definite avoidance relationship, however, exists between a man and his wife's older sister, and between a woman and her husband's older brother. No conversation should take place between the man and woman in these cases, nor should they look at each other if they can help it. If the one enters the house, the other should leave it. The woman should be particularly careful to cover her hair, which should never be seen by the man.

A joking relationship, on the other hand, obtains between a man and his wife's younger sister, and between a woman and her husband's younger brother. In these cases the woman is addressed familiarly by the man, and sexual allusions may be made in conversation. A man, for example, says to his wife's younger sister, "I don't like your sister. I'd rather sleep with you." But, according to my informant, who jokes in this way with his sister-in-law, no actual advances are ever made. The joking remains on a purely verbal level; they never touch each other.

These joking partners are potential mates. Sororal polygyny is sometimes practiced in Nepal. Moreover, the custom of sororate also occurs. A man, after his wife's death, may marry his wife's younger sister, but not her older sister. Simi-

larly, a woman may marry her dead husband's younger brother, but not his older brother. Widows and widowers may also marry into another family. According to the orthodox Brahmanic law widows may not remarry, but Jimdārs do not follow this regulation. Although the levirate is sometimes observed, there seems to be no custom here—such as exists in some parts of India, and which Gorer has described for the Lepchas—of a man sleeping with his older brothers' wives. An older brother's wife's sisters are also potential mates, but no sexual joking takes place with them. Instead, a mutual respect relationship prevails.

A man treats his wife's older brother with respect, for the latter is the potential head of his wife's family. Once a year, on the tenth day of the Dasara festival, a man must visit the head of his wife's family, whether it be the father-in-law or brother-in-law. He takes along a bottle of wine and a leg of mutton. The family head places a rice *tikā* on the foreheads of the man and wife and their children, and gives them all his blessing, as well as some money for *dakshinā*. Then there is a feast at which the mutton and wine are consumed.

The wife's brother continues to play an important role in relation to her family. At the age of three a Jimdār boy goes through a ceremony known as *Pāchnū*, or Haircut Ceremony, in which his maternal uncle gives him his first haircut. The boy may later have occasion to repay this tonsorial service, for it is he who must shave his uncle's head after a funeral. After the death of a father or mother (but not at the death of a wife, brother, sister, son, or daughter) a man's head must be completely shaved except for the top-knot or *tūpī*. Eyebrows, beard, and mustache are also shaved.[10] This office should be performed by a sister's son or else by a mother's brother, but never by a father's brother or brother's son. Ties between maternal uncle and sister's son are supposed to be close. There is a Nepalese proverb which runs: "One must respect even a dog which comes from the village of a mother's brother."

The older brother of a man's father is treated much as the father, for he, again, is the potential head of the family. The father's younger brothers may be treated more familiarly, but attitudes of respect are still maintained.

KINSHIP ORGANIZATION

A list of kinship terms is appended to this article. They are not presented in the Jimdār tongue, but in Nepali, the general language of Nepal which bears many resemblances to Hindustani. Some of the kinship terms, therefore, will be recognized as being the same or similar to kinship terms used in parts of India.

10 During a man's lifetime his sons should never shave their mustaches. In Darjeeling, however, young men have recently taken to violating this rule, particularly those who have gone to work or study in the cities.

One feature of this system is its bilaterality. The terms used for "grandfather" and "grandmother" may be applied to either the father's or mother's parents. Similarly, "grandson" and "granddaughter" are used bilaterally, while the terms for brother and sister are applied to the sons of both the father's and mother's brothers. Another feature of the system is the stress placed upon the relative age of siblings. Different terms are used for older and younger sister, and also for their respective mates. This distinction between older and younger appears in the terms for father's brothers but not for his sisters, while in the mother's family the distinction is made with regard to her sisters but not her brothers. The term *baṛiāmā* is used for both mother's older sister and father's older brother's wife; *baṛābābū* is used for both father's older brother and mother's older sister's husband. The distinction between older and younger is also employed with regard to brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law. The wives and husbands of the latter are equated with one's siblings in the kinship terminology.

Despite the bilaterality evident in this system, there is, in everyday life, an emphasis upon the patrilineal line, which determines membership in the *pāccha*, an exogamous clan-like unit, as well as membership in the *thar*. Unfortunately, I was not able to get much information about these Jimdār social units. Northey and Morris refer to the *thar* as so many tribes,[11] while Leonhard Adams says that the *thar* are clans which he thinks show indications of having formerly been totemistic.[12] I do not think it is correct, however, to identify the *thar* as a clan. One may marry someone from the same *thar* but not from the same *pāccha*. Both of these social units are very numerous. At Toong Soong there seem to be almost as many *thar* and *pāccha* as there are families. We need more information about these aspects of eastern Nepalese social organization.

ANCESTOR WORSHIP

The importance of the patrilineal line is evidenced by the three sacred stones found in orthodox Jimdār households. These "hearth stones" or *chūlā dhūngā* as they are called, are believed to be inhabited by the most recently departed spirits of the family. One stone is occupied by the father's spirit, another by the paternal grandfather, and the third by the paternal greatgrandfather. When their tenure is upset by the death of the head of the household, whose spirit must move into one of the stones, the family summons a *bijuwā*, a kind of medicine man, who performs a ceremony whereby the homeless ghost is enabled to enter one of the *chūlā dhūngā*. This usually takes place a year after the death, during which time the soul of the deceased is believed to be wandering about on earth. At the cere-

11 Northey and Morris, *op. cit.*, p. 238.
12 Adam, *op. cit.*, p. 537.

mony of installation the *bijuwā* recites some sacred texts (not Vedic, but texts peculiar to eastern Nepal) and invites the ghost to enter the stone which has been occupied, until this moment, by his father. As he does so, the father moves out and goes into the stone just being vacated by *his* father. The latter, in turn, moves into the third stone, whose occupant now steps forth into "immortality."

The *chūlā dhūngā* are kept in a secluded part of the house, which may be visited only by members of the family. A married daughter and her husband cannot go there. At the time of the Pittrā ceremony, held once a year, when the head of the family sacrifices a cock to the ancestors, no one is allowed to visit the family, and beggars are turned away from the door without alms, for this day is reserved for exclusive attention to the ancestors. If others were to partake of their food, the ancestors would make them fall sick. It may be noted, incidentally, that the ancestors are often held responsible when children fall ill. It is believed that the ancestors have been made angry by some lapse in the ritual observance owed to them, and that they have struck at the children in retaliation.

This cult surrounding the ancestral stones, which are somewhat reminiscent of Chinese tablets of the dead, indicate a stress on the patrilineal line. It may also be noted that women do not inherit property to any extent, although women generally have a high status in eastern Nepal, as evidenced by the customs relating to divorce and the remarriage of widows.[13] My principal informant acknowledged as correct the following information from Northey and Morris:

> Among the Limbus and Rais of Eastern Nepal, the distribution of property of a dead man is usually made by a small committee formed of six or seven of the elders of the village. Here, the largest share . . . is usually given to the eldest son, or should there be no offspring, then to the eldest surviving brother of the deceased. Amongst the last-named tribes a pretence is usually made of apportioning shares to the sisters and daughters of the dead man, but in actual practice they invariably receive nothing at all. . . .[14]

DISCUSSION

The Jimdār courtship system, as we have seen, contrasts with the arranged marriages of their neighbors, the Tibetans, Lepchas, western Nepalese, and Bengalis. Associated with the Jimdār system is a later age of marriage than in most of the latter groups. There is no child marriage among the Jimdārs. Another difference which may be noted is that instead of a dowry offered by the girl's father, some money is given by the father of the boy to the girl's father, although this may also be found in India, especially among the lower castes.

The caste system is present in this area, but loopholes are available for those

13 See Adam, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

14 Northey and Morris, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

who wish to marry someone of another caste, provided that this not an untouchable. A relatively democratic attitude prevails among these mountain peoples. In this connection we may also point to the *mīt* relationship. Along with other Nepalese groups the Jimdārs have a kind of ceremonial friendship which is initiated by a simple ceremony and which commits the two partners to a quasi-familial relationship. A friend of this type is known as a *mit*. Women may also have such a friendship among themselves. A woman friend is known as a *mītinī*. The ties established in this way bring about incest barriers between a man and members of his *mīt's* family, and an avoidance relationship develops between a man and his *mīt's* wife. It is interesting to note that the *mīt* relationship may be entered upon by men of different castes, except (as in the case of marriage) for untouchables. The wife of my principal informant had a *mītinī* who belonged to a caste lower than her own.[15]

One gets the impression that the eastern Nepalese have a greater degree of freedom from institutional restraints than the Bengalis of the plains. The average Jimdār does not seem to be markedly restricted by either family or caste in his social relationships. He is allowed areas for self-assertion and free choice which are not similarly available in the plains. Jimdār kinship is markedly bilateral, and the relationships between the families of bride and groom are characterized by a good deal of reciprocity. Women have a relatively high status, and widows may remarry.

With regard to bilaterality, the comparative equality of the sexes, and the importance of relative age, there are similarities here to the Burmese kinship system, as described by Charles Brant and Mi Mi Khaing. Among the Burmese, where there is also individual courtship, one may note as well some similarities in the relationship between a man and his wife's younger and older sisters.[16]

Some readers of this paper may perhaps suspect a previously "matriarchal" condition linking these two areas, following the argument of Ehrenfels, who has drawn attention to the northeastern matrilineal tribes of India, the Khasis and Garos. Ehrenfels cites various aspects of culture which he believes may represent "survivals" associated with former matriliny in various parts of India. Some of these are characteristic of Jimdār culture—importance of the mother's brother, blood-sacrifice of cocks, bride-price, and remarriage of widows. On the other hand, other aspects of culture listed by Ehrenfels are not found among the Jimdārs, such as female puberty ceremonies and the inheritance of wealth by women.[17]

15 See Adam, *op. cit.*, p. 541.

16 Charles S. Brant and Mi Mi Khaing, *Burmese Kinship and the Life Cycle: an Outline* (Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol. 7, pp. 437-454, 1951).

17 See Omar R. Ehrenfels, *Mother-Right in India* (Oxford University Press: London, 1941).

These historical problems are difficult to solve with the limited information now available. Before tackling them, it might be best to get more data about the present-day ethnology of India, Burma, and Nepal—research which would also clarify some functional problems. For a comparative analysis of systems like *chōrī bīhā* on the one hand and arranged marriages on the other might lead to a clearer understanding of the respective consequences of free choice or parental arrangement in the contracting of marriages. What are the characteristic psychological and sociological concomitants of these two systems? Further research among the peoples of eastern Nepal and their neighbors might help to provide an answer.

KINSHIP TERMS

bāzēī	grandfather (either father's father or mother's father)
bōzū	grandmother (either father's mother or mother's mother)
bābū	father
āmā	mother
barābābū	father's older brother, mother's older sister's husband
kakā	father's younger brother
māmā	mother's brother (either older or younger)
barīāmā	father's older brother's wife, mother's older sister
kākī	father's younger brother's wife
maizū	mother's brother's wife
fūpū	father's sister (either older or younger)
chēmā	mother's younger sister
pūsāī	father's (older or younger) sister's husband
kanchabābū	mother's younger sister's husband
dāzū	older brother, father's brother's son, mother's brother's son
bhāī	younger brother, father's brother's son, mother's brother's son, husband of sālī, husband of nandā
dīdī	older sister, father's brother's daughter, mother's brother's daughter, wife of jethān, wife of jethāzū
baihīnī	younger sister, father's brother's daughter, mother's brother's daughter, wife of sālā
bhaujū	older brother's wife
soltī	older brother's wife's brother
soltīnī	older brother's wife's sister
buhārī	younger brother's wife, son's wife
venāju	older sister's husband
jūwāī	younger sister's husband, daughter's husband

lõgnẽ	husband
swãsnĩ	wife
sãsũrã	father-in-law (of either man or woman)
sãsũ	mother-in-law (of either man or woman)
jethãn	wife's older brother
sãlã	wife's younger brother
jetĩsãsũ	wife's older sister
dãjũ	husband of jetĩsãsũ, husband of ãmãzũ
sãlĩ	wife's younger sister
jethãzũ	husband's older brother
dewãr	husband's younger brother
bahĩnĩ	wife of dewãr
ãmãzũ	husband's older sister
nandã	husband's younger sister
chõrã	son
chõrĩ	daughter
nãtĩ	grandson
nãtĩnĩ	granddaughter

New York, New York

MATRILOCALITY IN A SIMPLE HUNTING ECONOMY (MONTAGNAIS-NASKAPI)

ELEANOR LEACOCK

THE NORTHEASTERN ALGONKIANS have usually been characterized as having a patrilineal band organization, with patrilocal residence and patrilineal "inheritance" of land rights. However, it has been recognized for some time that post-marital residence in this area is far from exclusively patrilocal, and inheritance by no means exclusively patrilineal. Speck, who was perhaps the most familiar with Algonkian social organization, wrote:

> [Although the patrilineal family band] seems to be the ideal family grouping where a large family band can maintain itself in comfort on one inherited plot . . . ordinarily . . . in the inhospitable north country such ideals are futile and we find the *most common practice* to be for the other sons to join the family band of their father-in-law and raise their families as members of the wife's band.[1]

In the case of the Mistassini band in the Labrador Peninsula, Speck found that although "the hunting territories are inherited paternally, . . . here again it is stated as common for a man to join his wife's family and hunt with her father and brothers."[2] At the time of his visit to this band, there were "six definite instances of hunters residing on their paternally inherited grounds, and six, possibly seven, where the hunter, having married, has joined his father-in-law's group."[3] Lips, in his detailed study of law-ways among the Mistassini and neighboring Lake St John Indians a generation later, reports that "the laws of inheritance show rather clearly traits of conceptions derived from both father and mother right traditions with typical father-right rules prevailing but not exclusively dominating."[4] Strong reports instances of matrilocality among the Barren Ground Naskapi,[5] and Hallowell notes for the Algonkians as a whole that "in almost all of the northern and northeastern . . . bands a number of such cases [of matrilocality] have been reported. Usually the son-in-law inherits his father-in-law's hunting territory in such instances."[6]

1 Speck, 1917, pp. 97-98. Elsewhere Speck wrote, "It will be noticed how frequently the hunters deviate from the the usual practice—in which the inheritance of the hunting territories passes down from father to sons,—by joining the family unit of the father-in-law. Acquisition of territories in this manner, through marriage, is of high relative frequency" (Speck, 1927, p. 392).

2 Speck, 1917, p. 91.

3 Speck, 1923, p. 462.

4 Lips, 1947, p. 437.

5 Strong, 1929, p. 286.

6 Hallowell, 1932, p. 185.

Taking the frequent occurrence of matrilocality, coupled with band exogamy, into consideration, Steward characterizes the Algonkian band as "composite" rather than patrilineal. In short, leaving "ideal" patterns aside for the moment, it can be said that the Algonkians are in actuality bilocal rather than patrilocal. This is in line with Murdock's general statement on the suitability of bilocality to a simple economy:

> On a relatively low level of culture, the adoption of a migratory life in unstable bands seem particularly conducive to this [bilocal] rule of residence. A family may pitch its tent or erect its hut near the father's relatives at one campsite and near the mother's at the next, or if they belong to different bands it may reside with either or shift from one to the other.[7]

Speck makes a parallel statement in an early paper on northeastern Algonkian social organization, when he points out the importance of expediency in determining the residence of a newly married couple:

> The high mortality among men, due to exposure, and among women and children, all due to the failure of the game, is a noteworthy consideration, and one to be taken seriously into account as a factor governing the distribution of the people and the residence of the sexes. We find among the reasons given by the Indians for their residence with the father-in-law, after being married, first the necessity of rendering aid to him, should he have too few sons, or none at all through these fatalities, second, that of avoiding overcrowding in a family of too many sons, should they be living and working the paternal holding. And there are besides other minor personal reasons which can just as well be imagined by anyone who has lived with similar people.[8]

Similar references to families with matrilocal configurations can be found when one turns to records of seventeenth and eighteenth century Montagnais-Naskapi life. For example, Jesuit recorders mention a given Indian's family as including his wife's sister, or a son-in-law who is tending his father-in-law at his death, or a man who is travelling with his father-in-law.[9] More importantly, references to the *ideal* pattern made by the Jesuits and other early observers characterize it as *matrilineal-matrilocal*. For example, we read that when a young man "saw that he was well received, he went to lodge in the cabin of his future spouse, according to the former custom of the Savages."[10] And there is the oft-quoted statement from Le Jeune, that the Montagnais "prefer to take the children of their sisters as heirs, rather than their own, or than those of their brothers, calling in question the fidelity of their wives, and being unable to doubt that these nephews came from

7 Murdock, 1949, p. 204.
8 Speck, 1923, p. 464.
9 Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 6, p. 125; vol. 9, p. 33; vol. 14, pp. 143-145.
10 *Idem*, vol. 30, p. 169.

their own blood. . . ."[11] La Potherie, writing in the early eighteenth century about the closely related Cree and other groups who came to trade at Fort Nelson, says:

> The greatest consolation that the father of a family can have is a number of daughters. They are the support of the house, whereas a father who has sons only may look forward to being abandoned by them when they have grown up. . . .
>
> The marriage ceremony is quite informal. The parents of both parties are present and the young Indian says to his mistress that he takes her for his wife. This renders it necessary for him to reside with his father-in-law, who remains master of his hunting until there are children born. Usually he spends the remainder of his life with her father unless some trouble arises; but it is the latter's policy to deal tactfully with the son-in-law.[12]

Coupled with these statements of matrilocality as the preferred arrangement are references to the importance of the wife in making family decisions:

> The choice of plans, of undertakings, of journeys, of winterings, lies in nearly every instance in the hands of the housewife. . . .[13]
>
> The women have great power here. A man may promise you something, and if he does not keep his promise, he thinks he is sufficiently excused when he tells you that his wife did not wish to do it. I told him then that he was not the master, and that in France women do not rule their husbands. . . .[14]

Probably the Jesuit recorders somewhat exaggerated this Montagnais-Naskapi pattern so different from their own. Reading backwards from the tenor of Montagnais life today, family decisions were probably a joint affair—and indeed, virtually all decisions in this simple society are "family decisions." We should perhaps assume a similar exaggeration with respect to post-marital residence, for it is most unlikely that matrilocality was formerly universal among the Montagnais any more than patrilocality is today. Reading between the lines of the Jesuit Relations, one notes enough references to patrilocal family configurations to indicate that these people were even then to some extent bilocal. What is of significance, therefore, is the indication of a shift from matrilocality to patrilocality at least as the ideal pattern.

The evidence from contemporary and historical sources of a change in emphasis from matrilocality to patrilocality among the Indians of the Labrador Peninsula would doubtless remain both of dubious import and validity were it not for some corroborative material yielded by field research. During two successive summers I collected data on the social and economic organization of the central and

11 *Idem*, vol. 6, p. 253.
12 Tyrrell, 1931, pp. 125-126.
13 Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 68, p. 93.
14 *Idem*, vol. 5, p. 181.

southeastern Montagnais-Naskapi bands.[15] I found that unstable bilocal post-marital residence with a high frequency of matrilocality had been giving way to patrilocality, not only as the *ideal*, but increasingly as the *real* pattern. Correlated with this devlopment was the shift from loose band exogamy to a more stabilized band endogamy on the one hand, and the emergence of patrilineally oriented rules for inheritance on the other. What is involved in each instance is not so much a replacement of one formal system by another, as the substitution of formal stable units for informal unstable units, both in relation to people and to territory; or, in other words, the development of what can be defined as lineality or locality (whether paternal or maternal) in the first place. This stabilization has been both consciously and unconsciously encouraged by the trading post factors, the government representatives, and the missionaries. More fundamentally however, as we shall see below, it results from the fact that fur trapping has been replacing the hunting of large game animals as the basic economic pursuit of these Indians.

Elsewhere I outline the change in the basic band structure of the Montagnais-Naskapi in so far as it is possible to discover it from historical and field evidence.[16] The old socio-economic units were small, coöperative, and unstable "family bands," numbering in the tens, and consisting of one or two multi-family tent groups. These highly mobile bands travelled freely around in the winter within traditional but ill-defined areas, and gathered together with other such bands during the summer at the coast or at one of the large inland lakes. Contemporary Montagnais society, as recorded by Lips and others for western Labrador, is characterized by the large and relatively formal band of at least a hundred members which functions as a unit only during the summer when at the trading post. The band breaks up in the winter into individual families or pairs of families, which move out to their individually "owned" and "inherited" hunting grounds to work their lines of up to four hundred traps. Marriage is "typically" patrilocal and within the band.

Band organization in southeastern Labrdor is apparently at a transitional stage. It is more developed than in the case of the band as depicted in the historical records, but less so with respect to the contemporary band of western Labrador. Band boundaries were not delineated until recently, and the band territory, as of 1951, was still not broken up into "family grounds" but was "owned" in common. The bands consist of about one hundred individuals who live together in the summer at the trading post, and break up into trapping parties of up to five or six families

15 I spent the summers of 1950 and 1951 at Natashquan on the north shore of the St Lawrence River and on Northwest River on Hamilton Inlet, respectively, working with informants who had hunted throughout the central and southeastern Labrador Peninsula. For the financial assistance which made my work possible, I am gratefully indebted to the Columbia University Anthropology Department and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

16 Leacock, 1954.

for the winter season when the men lay temporary lines of ten to sixty or so traps. The composition of these parties and the grounds they exploit shift from year to year and from winter to spring.

Band membership itself was unstable until recently. Of the twenty-one male "family heads" listed for the Natashquan band in 1924,[17] only seven were born at Natashquan. These represented three families, two of which had left or died out by 1950. Hence there was in 1950 only one family whose male members had "always hunted Natashquan." This is not unusual for the southeastern bands. Among the older generation, there used to be constant shifting from band to band of both men and women as a result of marriage, or for a myriad of other reasons only a few of which were formalized enough to emerge as "patterns."

One such pattern illustrates the former minor importance of territorial ties in southeastern Labrador. This was the tradition of a man leaving a band upon the death of all close relatives in that band. For example, when Francois La Fontaine's immediate relations in the Romaine band (just east of Natashquan) died, "Romaine send him Natashquan." La Fontaine lived at Natashquan for twenty years, and then moved to join the Mingan band when a grown son married a Mingan woman. Similarly, when one Etienne Astimaju, who had come from Romaine to marry a Natashquan woman, lost his father-in-law, "Tell him Natashquan, 'No brother (relative). Go away!'." Astimaju went to live with the Mingan band. In another case, my informants explained the decision of one Benoit Katush to come to Natashquan for several years: "Mother dead, wife dead, no find work;" that is, death had destroyed his links with his closest hunting partners, who, among the elder generation, were often chosen from maternal uncles or relatives by marriage. This does not mean that such a man is actually thrown out; for he presumably wants to leave the place where loved ones have lived and died. My informants compared the practice to a man's temporary avoidance of an area which he has hunted with a recently dead father or uncle. To traverse the same streams and woods where he has accompanied a beloved relative makes him too unhappy.

Informants reported for central and southeastern Labrador that exogamy, often with matrilocality, was the mode in their youth. As they put it, "Plenty talk'em women Natashquan"—you talk and joke with the women at Natashquan, but you do not marry them. You "go down" to Mingan or Seven Islands, the two bands west of Natashquan, to find a wife. One informant, a middle-aged widower, was considering remarriage. He talked of going to Seven Islands. "No women Natashquan just now," he said, "Plenty women Seven Islands," and this in spite of the fact that a fair number of eligible women lived at Natashquan.

17 Speck, 1931.

Post-marital residence was presented as a matter of choice. As one informant stated, "Ask'em woman, 'You marry, come back Natashquan.' Woman say 'No. You got to go Mingan!'." It appears from the literature that the old pattern was for marriages to take place in the summer when a number of the small bands gathered at the river mouths or on one of the large inland lakes. Indian House Lake to the north was one such gathering place. The early missionaries took advantage of this pattern, travelling to these summer camps to marry and baptise the Indians. In the recent past, missions were held every summer at Mingan, west of Natashquan, and later at Musquarro, to the east. A person intending to marry might go to the mission with all his possessions, prepared for a change of residence if necessary. The present trend, by contrast, is toward endogamy and stabilization of band membership. Sometime about 1945 the Musquarro mission was discontinued, and now the priest travels along the coast, stopping at each band's campsite to baptise and marry its members. Seventeen out of the twenty-four existing marriages at Natashquan in 1950 were endogamous. As one informant put it, "Just now young men stay Natashquan. Long ago not same. Going to hunt Mingan, Romaine," meaning a man would marry, move, and hunt in a different band territory. Of the fifty-four widowed or married band members, however, only fifteen were born in the band. In other words, the majority of the recent endogamous marriages took place between two people who had previously come to Natashquan, either as a result of a former exogamous marriage, or as children when the marriage of a brother, sister, or widowed parent caused their families to move.

Instances of this practice, when entire families move after the marriage of one member, should be given in some detail. They illustrate the nature of individual choices which, when considered in toto, comprise a most important part of band functioning in southeastern Labrador. The Bellefleure family was one of the largest and most prominent families in the Natashquan band when I was there. It was headed by an uncle and four nephews. Two brothers in the older generation had recently died. From a static point of view, the Bellefleures might seem to indicate the cohesion of the patrilineal group. Their actual history, however, shows the constant shuffling and reshuffling of family units through moves in both paternal and maternal directions. The first Bellefleure brother in the older generation came from Romaine as an affinal relative with his wife's family, when they accompanied a newly wed daughter to Natashquan. The second brother moved to Natashquan when he married a woman of that band. The third came with his wife and unmarried son when his daughter married a Natashquan man. In the present mature generation, two men and two women were married within the Natashquan band; one young man married a Romaine girl and returned to that band; and another

married a Mingan girl, went to Mingan for a year, and then returned to Natashquan.

Such examples can be multiplied. One of the oldest women of the Natashquan band, Sophie Bellefleure, was a widow living at Romaine when her daughter married a former Mingan man who was then living with the Natashquan band. The whole family decided to move to Natashquan with the newly-wed girl, including Sophie's widowed son, an adopted son, also widowed, and a married daughter and her husband. Thus three new "patrilineal lineages" were introduced. In another case William Nano, his wife, and his five girls came to Natashquan when his oldest daughter married a Natashquan man. All but one of his daughters subsequently married at Natashquan. They now form a strong unit; they cook together at the summer camp and their husbands often trap together in the winter. My informants complained of the clannishness of these young women, and of their mother who was always "cross with the other wives."

The life history of a former Natashquan woman, Agathe Nonan, illustrates the manner in which the choice of matrilocal or patrilocal residence may be affected by the shifting of a woman's ties from her parents and siblings to her children as she grows older. Agathe was born and raised at Natashquan. Due to the appallingly high death rate, she married five times. (The Montagnais-Naskapi are Catholics and no longer sanction divorce.) Of Agathe's first four husbands, one already belonged to the Natashquan band, and three joined the band after their marriage. Upon her last marriage, however, Agathe joined her new husband's band at Mingan, taking her almost mature children with her.

It could be inferred that the relatively common moving of entire families from band to band might arise from attempts to compromise between the "old" matrilocal and "new" patrilocal ideal patterns indicated in the literature. However, while a percentage-wise comparison of actual decisions in earlier and later periods, were it possible to make, would be germane here, I feel that to leave the matter at this would be to miss the point. As aforesaid, constant movement was so characteristic of these Indians that the term "patri- or matrilocality" at all is somewhat of a misnomer. Ties to territories were of minimal importance; the emphasis was on maintaining loving and compatible working groups. These were built both through conjugal and affinal relations, and, apparently, through pure friendships as well. Inquiry into the process of making decisions to move touches on the very heart of Montagnais-Naskapi life, and, I suspect, the life of most simple hunters. In the case of a family which moves when a girl marries out of her band, it may be all but impossible to say whether the family had decided to move in the first place, or the girl to marry "out" in the first place. As far as I could see, decision-making

on such important issues was a most subtle process—indeed an enigma to the fieldworker schooled in competitive hierarchies—whereby one found out how everybody concerned felt without committing oneself until one was fairly sure in advance that there would be common agreement. I was constantly struck by the elusive nature of the continual effort on the part of the Indians to operate together unanimously, but informally, in the direction of the greatest individual satisfaction without direct conflict of interest. The frustration this occasioned me as a fieldworker will, I am sure, be familiar to those who have studied similar peoples.

The characteristically informal nature of Montagnais-Naskapi social organization is well illustrated by the composition of the winter trapping parties, which are apparently the contemporary successors of the old band units.[18] Each year they reform around temporary "chiefs," generally older men who know a given area well. Although there is some predictability as to probable or possible combinations of partners, it is difficult to find out in advance how the hunting parties are going to line up. Some decisions are apparently not made until the last minute. In fact at Natashquan it was even considered bad luck to question someone too closely on where and with whom he was going to hunt. This is in part due to an individual's reluctance to commit himself as to the actions of other people, but I suspect it is also at least in part due to the fact that the recent dependence upon fur as a cash crop inevitably introduces a new kind of competition over desirable territories, a competition which is being played down in order to preserve the interpersonal security of the old coöperative groups. Even after a group has formed, it may not make the final decision upon where it is going to trap until reaching the upper branches of the Natashquan River, whereupon it leaves a signal for the parties coming after, telling which fork of the river it has taken.

The situation at Northwest River was equally informal and unpredictable, with final decisions often made at the last minute, and some shifting around of people without close relatives or friends even after the Indians had left the trading post and made their late summer camps at various river mouths. The accompanying Figure 1 illustrates diagrammatically the composition of the 1948-49 Natashquan winter hunt, as well as the composition of two Northwest River late summer camps. It shows graphically how working units are built up both affinally and conjugally, or, from another point of view, both matrilineally and patrilineally.[19]

18 Leacock, 1954.

19 In an unpublished paper on changing family form among the Great Whale River Cree, Nathan Altshuler reports that the "affinilocal extended family," as he calls it, consisting of a man and his wife plus the family of orientation of each, is common in the summer camp. These Indians have a relatively well-developed trapping-ground system, and in the winter the band breaks up more or less evenly into either bilocal extended families or independent nuclear families which trap separately in their traditional territories.

Furthermore, the Northwest River groups illustrate how these kinds of arrangement function well with cross-cousin marriage, reported by Strong[20] for this area and noted a number of times in the course of my field work. The fact that the cousin is often related through a step-parent does not mitigate the significance of

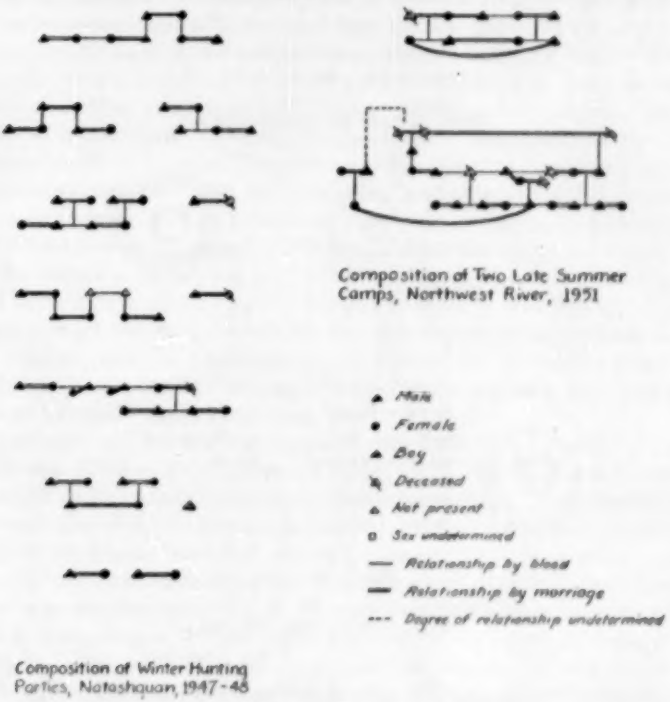


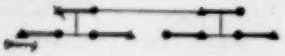
FIG. 1. Group composition.

such marriages in this area where the death rate is high and strict blood relationship of little social importance.

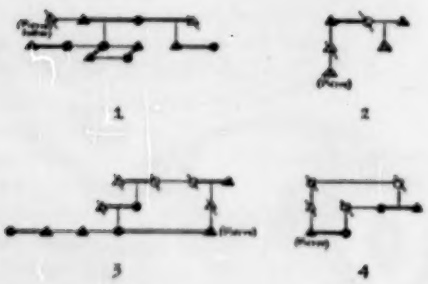
At this point a life history which brings out the informal character of Montagnais-Naskapi society from the standpoint of the individual might be helpful. Thomas Gregoire was fifty-four the year I worked with him. His father, Harry

20 Strong, 1929.

Gregoire, was reared at Seven Islands. Harry married a Mingan girl and hunted with the Mingan band until her death. He then married a woman from Northwest River, the daughter of a Northwest River woman and an Abenaki man who had come from Gaspesia. As a result of his marriage, Harry became one of a five-family group which generally hunted around Lake Michikamau and descended to North-



Harry Gregoire's Hunting Group



Some of Pierre Toby's Hunting Partnerships

Fig. 2. Hunting group composition.

west River in the summer. The men of this group included Harry, his wife's brother-in-law, her maternal uncle, and this uncle's son and son-in-law, as shown in the accompanying figure (Fig. 2). The five families lived in one large tent until the cold made it more practical to divide into two small ones. In the latter circumstance Harry lived and hunted with his brother-in-law.

The pressure of White trappers in the Hamilton River area broke up the group, most of the members moving to St Augustine where Thomas was born and spent his boyhood. His family then joined the Romaine band for no specific reason that occurred to Thomas. There undoubtedly was one, or several, but Thomas' state-

ment, "My father no like 'em hunt St Augustine—going down Romaine. Everyone Indian—no like 'em hunt this one—going to hunt the other one," expresses the typical feeling that such changes of band affiliation are strictly a matter of individual choice. At Romaine Harry's hunting partners were often the sons of a maternal uncle. Thomas, however, married and thereafter usually hunted with his father-in-law. Thomas' brother and sister also married at Romaine, but after a few years the sister moved to Natashquan with her husband's family. Thomas' wife subsequently died. Then he and his parents returned to St. Augustine where Harry died. After a few years, both Thomas and his mother decided to remarry at the Musquarro summer mission, in expectation of which they took with them all their worldly possessions. They had a double wedding, each marrying someone from Natashquan, and "came up Natashquan," rejoining the sister. From gathering many such life histories, I would say that it is more than an even chance that had the sister originally moved to Mingan, Thomas and his mother would have decided instead to "marry Mingan." After a few years Thomas' second wife also died, and six years later he went to Mingan to remarry. This time he arranged with a younger man from Natashquan that they marry respectively a widow and her daughter, since one would not move to Natashquan without the other, and he did not want to move to Mingan. The two families were very close during the summer I worked with the Natashquan band.

Further examples of how hunting partnerships are built up bilaterally are given in the case of Pierre Toby. Pierre has hunted all through the Lake Plateau of central Labrador, constantly shifting his alliances according to exigency and choice. First a member of the old Petitskapau band, he attached himself through marriage to the old Michikamu band. Both of these groups were breaking up as independent units due to their common dependence upon the growing center of Seven Islands. In the accompanying figure (Fig. 2), Number 1 represents the group hunting near Lake Petitskapau prior to Pierre's marriage when he was hunting with his grandfather and great uncle (Number 2) at Lake Michikamau. Number 3 shows a usual grouping after Pierre's marriage, a group held together by Pierre's mother-in-law. The partnership broke up when she married into the Lake Nichikun band and took her unmarried children with her. Pierre and his wife then joined the Northwest River band. Number 4 portrays Pierre's first Northwest River partner. He also hunted for a while with a "long" or extended brother-in-law of his wife's, but, not finding many partners, was forced to hunt alone one year. Meanwhile his own mother had remarried and moved to Natashquan, and Pierre decided to join her. His wife became ill and died on the way, but he and his little daughter continued on to Natashquan where they moved in with Pierre's mother. Pierre was

talking of "going down Seven Islands" to remarry four years later when I worked with him.

The virtual lack of formalized socio-economic organization these life histories reflect contrasts markedly with the endogamous patrilineal-patrilocal band organization described for the Algonkians in general, and found, although in a somewhat loose form, among the Montagnais of western Labrador. Even the organization of the summer camp in southeastern Labrador differs from that in the western part of the peninsula where camp sites are "bequeathed from father to son and the son pitches his tent exactly where his parents' tent used to stand."[21] At Natashquan the women more or less have the say as to where the tent shall stand, and although locations shift constantly, the matrilocal emphasis is strong. For example, neighboring women often use a common outdoor fireplace, and of these joint cooking partnerships in the summer of 1950, six were mother (or step-mother)-daughter and two grandmother-granddaughter, and only three mother-in-law-daughter-in-law.

However, the typical Algonkian type of band organization, based on the patrilineally inherited trapping territory, can be seen emerging in central and southeastern Labrador. It involves the stabilization of endogamous bands on the one hand, and a specifically patrilineal-patrilocal emphasis on the other. The discontinuance of the summer mission, the cost of the boat fare, and recent limiting regulations by the government are direct factors mentioned by my informants as discouraging exogamy and mobility. But the strengthening of ties to a specific territory which results from the displacement of large game hunting by fur trapping as the dominant economic pursuit is probably of more fundamental importance. Serious trapping for furs involves making paths which tend to be reused year after year. ("Too many sticks [trees]. Going to walk the same path.") In the eastern area, as we have seen, the paths still change hands freely, but there is a tendency towards habitual use of the same ones, and, in the case of one family, virtual preëmption of a "territory." The crucial step in the process of stabilization takes place when trapping has become of such importance as compared to hunting game animals that mobility is given up and permanent lines of several hundred traps are laid. At this point the Indian has a real and abiding interest in a definite and specific area. Permanent trap lines are common at Seven Islands in central Labrador; as yet they are only being spoken of at Natashquan.

The stabilization of Montagnais-Naskapi band territories and personnel which has followed from their turning to fur trading as their primary occupation has been patrilineal-patrilocal in orientation for a number of reasons. The very nature

21 Lips, 1947, p. 427.

of trapping has meant that important socio-economic ties have shifted from the more purely personal ones of family attachments and friendships, both male and female, to ties between a man and his sons in relation to a trapping territory. First, trapping is an individualized activity, as compared to hunting, which was typically a group affair. Second, trap lines can be worked by a boy almost as efficiently as by a man once the traps have been laid. A man is reluctant to trap entirely alone—it is too dangerous in this northern country—but his young son now becomes a possible partner. In contrast to southeastern Labrador, father-unmarried son partnerships are frequent at Seven Islands.[22] Farther west, at Lakes Mistassini and St John, a boy sells his own furs and keeps the money.[23] By the time he marries, he has been handling his own affairs for years. He has developed ties within his band and to a certain part of the band land which were impossible among roving caribou-hunters. Should there be many brothers to share his father's land, a young man may seek a woman who has no brothers and move to her territory. Otherwise marriage is usually patrilocal and land "inheritance" is usually patrilineal.

This patrilineal-patrilocal configuration is strengthened by the growing relative importance of the man's economic contribution to the group. Furs are exchanged not only for the major part of the food supply, but also for canvas and cloth, which renders less necessary the manufacture of leather by the women. The hunting family typically stayed together, the men bringing home the meat to be consumed, and the women working the skins to make clothes, tents, and canoe covers. Now that furs are exchanged for these items, and now that traded flour and lard have replaced meat as the staple food, the women and children are not only *de trop* on the hunt, but quite literally a burden. A man can take his supplies with him into the interior on one trip, and can devote his entire time to trapping. To take his wife and family, as well as their food, he must make what amounts to two trips, in short relays, taking the supplies on ahead and then returning for the family. Therefore the southeastern Labrador Indians are increasingly adopting the practice of the western Montagnais-Naskapi and of the White trappers. The men are beginning to "go up inside" alone to trap, leaving their families at the coast with a supply of flour and lard.

The stabilization of Montagnais-Naskapi socio-economic organization has also involved the formalization of rules for the inheritance of property. Among the western Montagnais these are derived, as Lips says, from concepts of both "father-right" and "mother-right," with the former prevailing.[24] By contrast, property

22 Speck and Eiseley, 1942, p. 230.
23 Lips, 1947, pp. 435, 445.
24 See page 31, above.

relations in southeastern Labrador are still expressed primarily in terms of services, and, as might be expected from the foregoing, they reflect strong matrilineal ties. This is brought out in the case of canoes, which are made by the older men. During the summers of 1949 and 1950, out of fifty-three canoes made, twelve were kept, five sold, and four given to unmarried sons or step-sons. Of the remaining twelve, four were given to married sons or step-sons; and one to a wife's sister's daughter's son, one to a sister's son, and six to sons-in-law. The precedents set by the Whites as well as the new pulls of the trapping situation are felt, but are still not paramount. I asked an informant who it was that had furnished the new tent and canoe upon the marriage of his son, and he answered, "Me, the father, just same White man." I pursued the matter and asked who would make the young man's next canoe, and the answer was, "The father, I suppose." However, further questioning revealed that in this case my informant was referring to his son's new father-in-law!

The attitude towards material possessions in southeastern Labrador is that they are, without exception, expendable and replaceable. Sleds and toboggans are made anew each fall. Canoes are said to last three years, but are often left in the woods after the second winter to avoid the bother of carrying them down. Tents are good for only one or two years. The replacement of caribou hide or birch bark by canvas has not affected this picture. Thus, with the exception of iron tools and steel traps, there was and still is virtually nothing worth inheriting, and the "rule" seems to be an informal handing down of such clothes and tools as are still useful to whatever close relative of the same sex happens to be around and to need them. This casual attitude is extended to traps in spite of their greater durability, and they are treated in what is to us a most off-hand manner. They are heavy to carry and may often be left in the woods over the summer. This does not mean, however, that their owner necessarily returns for them the following year. He may have several caches of traps, including some that he may not use for years. Should he leave the band, he may never see them again, and if found, there seems to be no feeling of compunction to return them to him. Should he die, there is no legal formulation for passing them on; they go to a younger man closely related to the deceased by blood or marriage who is in his band at the time of his death and who can use more traps! Recent cases in the Natashquan band include sons, brothers, grandsons, step-sons, sons-in-law, and sister's sons as inheritors of traps, but with sons or step-sons—i.e. a patrilineal emphasis in this case—the most usual. There is no feeling for primogeniture nor for equal division among sons, however. Of several sons the one or two just coming into maturity would be the most likely to inherit their father's traps, since an older brother would already have some and a

young boy not yet need his own. There are several instances of traps at Natashquan that were never "found" after their owner's death, and I suspect this to be a temporary way of handling cases where there may not be complete agreement as to the logical inheritor, and hence the necessity of avoiding possibly disruptive rivalry over them. I say temporary, because as large scale permanent trap lines become adopted by these Indians, so must formal rules governing their use and inheritance.

Some comment is in order on attitudes towards the socio-economic changes here described as taking place among the Labrador Indians. My Natashquan informants expressed concern over whether the wife and children should go up inside in the winter, but apart from that gave little overt indication of antagonism towards material and social changes. They expressed no worry about "what the younger generation was coming to." Young men as such are "foolish," but they always have been, the speaker in his boyhood as much as his own son. Their "foolishness" simply implies a lack of adult responsibility which they will in time acquire. My informants did not see the limitations upon exogamy as upsetting an important way of life, but accepted them as they do the other exigencies they constantly cope with in a most precarious life. In the same matter of fact way they recognized the forgetting of old traditions and techniques and the step-by-step adoption of European material culture. They did reveal a definite and somewhat unconscious resistance to giving up their coöperative habits of life and work, but most of the irritation they expressed openly was directed towards the social and economic factors operating in the total White-Indian situation which were holding them back from full participation in "Western civilization."

The relative ease of cultural change in this area may explain in part the acceptance of the band structure recorded for western Labrador as in its main outlines unchanged since pre-Columbian times. This might reasonably apply also to other recently acculturated peoples who lack rigid or highly formalized socio-economic patterns and class or marked status groups which stand to lose in acculturation situations. We do know that our conception of the "aboriginal" or "pre-contact" culture in a given area tends to break down as soon as we do a thorough job of historical research. Possibly, therefore, the main factors involved in the stabilization of patrilineal-patrilocal bands in Labrador might be found to apply more widely than to the northeastern Algonkian area alone. Going no further than Steward's general discussion of the patrilineal band among marginal peoples, one finds reference to matrilineal clans and bands in Western Australia, and occasional matrilocal residence recorded for the Bushman, the central African Negritos, the Semang, and the Philippine Negritos, with, interestingly enough, a shift from

exogamy to endogamy indicated for the last named.[25] Might these passing references to matrilocality (and in one case to former exogamy) have fundamentally the same significance as they do in Labrador? To what extent have these marginal hunters also become dependent upon the trading of a "cash crop," with a resulting stabilization of patrilineal-patrilocal groups? If these questions, couched as hypotheses, should stand the test of further research, it would mean that the old argument —presumably settled for good—about the priority of matrilineality or patrilineality in the history of human society, missed the point in arguing over the "dominance" of one as opposed to the other sex. If the socio-economic history of the Labrador Montagnais-Naskapi is roughly representative of a series of similar cultures, rather than existing as a unique sequence of cultural events, then the old matrilineal-to-patrilineal or patrilineal-to-matrilineal alternative would be shifted to an understanding of how informal and more or less bilocal (with perhaps a slight emphasis on matrilocal) family bands with neither sex "dominant" become stabilized in patrilineally and patrilocally oriented structures.

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25 Steward, 1936, pp. 334-338.

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SHAMANISM IN MEXICO

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ALTHOUGH the term "shaman" appears sporadically in the literature on Mexico, ethnologists have not come to grips with the problem of whether shamanism exists in Mexico.

Examination of sixteenth century Spanish chronicles and modern ethnographies of Mexican communities reveals no evidence of classical Siberian shamanism accompanied by spirit possession in pre-Conquest or modern Mexico.

Lowie and Herskovits advocate broad definitions of shamanism which include non-possessional types found in North America and other areas outside of Siberia. Lowie defines a shaman as any person who has direct communication with supernatural beings through dreams, visions, or spirit possession.[1] This definition of a shaman seems to me to be too broad because it is not restricted to curers and could include witches and laymen. Herskovits proposes a narrower definition of a shaman: "The shaman is an individual endowed with supernatural power to heal, or one who by calling his spirit can find out what is beyond time and space."[2] For the purposes of this paper a shaman is defined as an individual who has received power to cure and divine direct from supernatural beings through dreams, visions, or spirit possession.

Even non-possessional shamanism is rare in Mexico. The Mexican "curandero" usually learns his healing art from an established curer without a direct gift of power from supernatural beings. Redfield refers to the Mayan "h-men" of Chan Kom as a "shaman-priest" but presents no evidence of direct communication of the "h-men" with supernatural beings.[3] Bennett and Zingg also refer to Tarahumara curers as shamans although the knowledge of shamanism must be taught by established curers. The Tarahumara curer does have direct contact with supernatural beings, however, when he sends his soul to converse with water people who kidnap the souls of his patients.[4]

Foster clearly states that the curers of Tzintzuntzan "are not shamans in the

1 Robert H. Lowie, *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology* (New York: Rinehart, 1940), p. 348.

2 Melville J. Herskovits, *Man and His Works* (New York: Knopf, 1948), p. 371.

3 Robert Redfield and Alfonso Villa Rojas, *Chan Kom, a Maya Village* (Publication, Carnegie Institution of Washington, no. 448, 1934), p. 76.

4 Wendell C. Bennett and Robert M. Zingg, *The Tarahumara: an Indian Tribe of Northern Mexico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), pp. 255-256, 259-260.

sense that they receive power from the supernatural, and their ability is simply the result of the centuries of accumulation of folk knowledge."[5] (Foster 1948: 266). On the other hand, Foster believes that Popoluca curanderos may be shamans because they talk in an unintelligible language with mountain dwarfs called "chaneques" in order to recapture the lost souls of their patients.[6]

Ethnographies of Cahita, Mixe, and Zapotec Indian groups in Mexico are vague about the source of the curer's power and present no evidence of shamanism.

The Valley of Mexico seems to be the only area in Mexico where curers receive their power direct from supernatural beings. I recently investigated a case of shamanism among Nahuatl-speaking Indians which presents some remarkable parallels to Siberian shamanism. My investigation was carried out in 1952-53 during the course of a community study in the pueblo of San Francisco Tecospa, delegacion of Milpa Alta, Federal District, in the southern extreme of the Valley of Mexico.[7]

Don Soltero Perez, the only shaman in Tecospa, is an old man who is a highly respected member of the community. He received his curing power in 1918 during the Revolution shortly after he and his wife had moved from Tecospa to San Nicolas Tetelco where they were living with friends. One night during a bad storm lightning struck the house where they were living and knocked all the inhabitants unconscious. Everyone in the house revived quickly except Don Soltero who recovered consciousness very slowly and remained in a daze. The next day a female curer treated him successfully but he continued to lose consciousness once a week over a period of about six months.

When Don Soltero lost consciousness his spirit was kidnapped by the "enanitos," dwarf-size rain deities who have existed in the Valley of Mexico since Aztec times. The enanitos, also known as "los aires," are described in Tecospa as little men and women who stand about one and one-half feet high, wear long hair, dress and live like the Indians of Tecospa, and speak the Otomi tongue. They live in caves in the hills and mountains where they store big barrels containing clouds, rain, lightning, and thunder. When the enanitos are angry with a human being they blow their breath at him, causing him to fall ill with the common disease

5 George M. Foster, *Empire's Children: the People of Tzintzuntzan* (Publication, Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, no. 6, 1948), p. 266.

6 George M. Foster, "Some Wider Implications of Soul-loss Illness among the Sierra Popoluca" (in *Homenaje a Don Alfonso Caso*, pp. 167-174, Mexico: Impr. Nuevo Mundo, 1951), p. 169; and personal communications.

7 This study was financed by a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research which is gratefully acknowledged.

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known as "aire de cuevas." This disease usually is inflicted on bad persons who offend the enanitos by trespassing in their caves, by carrying food near their caves without giving them any of it, and by pointing or calling to a rainbow. "Aire de cuevas" is rarely fatal if the sick person is treated by a curer specializing in treatment of this disease. The enanitos kill individuals who do not believe in them and good people whom they want as their servants in their caves, which constitute the earthly paradise known as Tlalocan in Aztec times. Victims of the enanitos are killed by lightning, drowning, and "aire de cuevas."

Don Soltero fell to the floor as though he were dead each time that the enanitos attacked him. His limbs became rigid and his teeth started grinding when he hit the floor but soon his body became limp. The enanitos forced his spirit to accompany them to their caves where he saw many other little people, houses, maize, squash, a great variety of other vegetables, and water. The enanitos wanted Don Soltero to become a curer, and they told him they would not let his spirit return to his body until he agreed. They beat him until he agreed, but after his spirit returned to his body he would change his mind, deciding not to become a curer. Each time his spirit returned to his body he felt sore all over his body from the beating he had received at the hands of the enanitos.

After six months Don Soltero made a permanent agreement with the enanitos to become a curer because he knew they would kill him if he did not capitulate to their demands. When the agreement was concluded the enanitos presented Don Soltero with a staff, three curing stones, and a spirit wife.

The staff, called a "vara," is a short stick of wood decorated with carvings which symbolize Don Soltero's power as a curer. It is invisible to everybody except Don Soltero and the enanitos. Don Soltero left the staff in the caves of the enanitos.

The three curing stones which Don Soltero received from the enanitos were bright yellow and translucent. One stone was shaped like a cannon. The second stone was shaped like a doll and the third like a duck. When Don Soltero's soul returned to his body he found these three stones in his pocket. During a night thunderstorm when Don Soltero is asleep these stones may leave his house never to return but they are replaced by other stones which come to his house on their own power.

Don Soltero's spirit wife is an enanita who lives in a cave with other enanitos. If Don Soltero had refused to marry her she would have killed him in revenge. Nobody can see the spirit wife except Don Soltero and the enanitos. She and Don Soltero have children who live with their mother in the cave. Don Soltero has not been allowed to have sexual relations with his human wife since he became a curer. Once when he tried to sleep with his human wife after becoming a curandero, he

had an attack and fell on the floor as though he were dead. During this attack his spirit was forced to go to a cave where it was beaten by the enanitos. So now Don Soltero concentrates all his sexual activity on his spirit wife. The marriage of a curandero and an enanita lasts for eternity, so when Don Soltero dies, his soul will turn into an enanito and join his spirit wife in the caves of the enanitos where he probably will continue curing.

Don Soltero is called a "curandero de aire" because he specializes in curing the disease of "aire de cuevas" caused by the enanitos. He and all other "curanderos de aire" die twice a year; their spirits then go to a cave of the enanitos where they receive instructions for curing. The first yearly death of the curanderos occurs in October or November when the rains have ended. All the curanderos die at the same time, remaining dead for half an hour or an hour while their spirits attend the general meeting of curanderos and enanitos.

Orders for curing are given at this meeting by the chief of the enanitos, who is called "yecacoatl" in Nahuatl and "culebra de agua" in Spanish. Yecacoatl is a big snake in charge of making rain and storms. He tells the enanitos which barrels to pour down on the earth. The Indians say that before a cloudburst the culebra de agua can be seen in the dark clouds lashing its tail back and forth. Yecacoatl tells the curers which groups of enanitos will be in charge of rain-making for the coming year since a different set of enanitos makes rain each year. Last year the enanitos of the hills named San Miguel and Teotli were in charge; the year before the enanitos of Popocatepetl and Ixtacihuatl made the rain. One night last year, when there was a downpour of rain accompanied by thunder and lightning, Don Soltero said that the enanitos of San Miguel and Teotli were competing against each other to see which group could make the most rain. While the enanitos of San Miguel and Teotli were making rain, the enanitos of the other hills and mountains took a vacation and rested. Yeyecoatl also tells the curers which curing implements such as eggs, stones or herbs they are to use most in treating the disease of "aire." The curers turn in all their curing stones at this meeting when they are given new ones because the stones get tired working and must rest. The second yearly death of the curanderos occurs in March just before the rains begin.

When Don Soltero treats a patient suffering from "aire de cuevas" the enanitos tell him which curing stone or herbs to use and help him remove the aire from the patient's body. Don Soltero begins a treatment by rubbing the patient's entire body with an unbroken egg.[8] This procedure is called a "cleaning" because the egg is supposed to absorb some of the disease in the patient's body. After this initial cleaning Don Soltero breaks the egg in a glass of water to diagnose the illness.

8 The egg treatment is a European trait introduced into America after the Spanish Conquest.

Four years ago Don Soltero treated Don Bernardino Mesa who ached all over his body. When Don Soltero dropped the broken egg into a glass of water the egg-white rose in the shape of a whirlpool and little bubbles formed on the surface of the water indicating that Don Bernardino had "aire de cuevas." In performing the second cleaning Don Soltero filled his mouth with water which he kept there while he placed one end of an egg on top of the patient's head and sucked on the other end of the egg. He repeated this procedure over each of the patient's temples, his heart, his elbows, and the palms of his hands. Then Don Soltero asked the patient whether there was any part of his body that hurt particularly. Don Bernardino told him that his shoulders hurt, so the curer sucked them in the same way. The "aire" in Don Bernardino's body passed through the egg into the water in the curer's mouth which Don Soltero spit on the floor after the sucking. Then he took the same egg in his hands and rubbed the patient's entire body with it.

Laying the egg aside Don Soltero next began to cure Don Bernardino with his doughnut-shaped curing stone. After filling his mouth with water, Don Soltero sucked through the hole in the stone on the same parts of the patient's body which he had previously sucked with the egg. During both suckings the patient felt the "aire" leaving his body. He felt as though something were pulling on his skin. After sucking, Don Soltero blew through the doughnut-shaped stone on the same parts of the body he had sucked. Then he rubbed the patient's body with two other curing stones.

Don Soltero cracked the second egg used for cleaning the patient and dropped it into a glass of water to see whether there was any "aire" left in the patient's body. If there is no "aire" left in the body, no part of the egg rises. But if any of the egg white rises, the patient still has some "aire." The amount of "aire" left is indicated by the amount of egg that rises. If the second egg shows that the patient still has "aire," he must return the next day for a repetition of the entire treatment. The treatments are repeated daily until the egg diagnosis shows that no "aire" is left. The first egg used in the treatment is thrown into the fire immediately after the diagnosis, and the glass is cleaned with ashes, soap, and water. The second egg is thrown into the milpa. These precautions are taken because the "aire" contained in the egg is contagious.

Sometimes the enanitos tell Don Soltero to clean a patient by rubbing him with herbs such as Santa Maria, ruda, jarilla, and estafiate. He also may add rosa blanca or bola de fuego. When Don Soltero uses the herb treatment he first cleans the patient with an egg, then with a curing stone, and finally with the herbs which are substituted for the second egg cleaning described above. He holds the herbs together in a bunch, rubbing them over the patient's entire body. After the treat-

ment these herbs may be thrown out in the milpa or the curer may take them to a cave of the enanitos to return the "aire." The eggs and herbs are provided by the patient's family. Don Soltero charges one peso per treatment in Tecospa and three pesos or more per treatment when he cures in other towns.

When a person suffering from "aire de cuevas" does not improve after three or four cleanings, Don Soltero tells him that the enanitos must be placated with a food offering called a "tlacahuili" in Nahuatl. The content of the "tlacahuili" depends on the foods requested by the offended enanitos through the curer. The meal for the enanitos is prepared by a female relative of the patient. Such a meal may consist of soup, rice, mole verde, tamales, tortillas, and a little bottle of pulque. The tamales and tortillas are tiny, and the other foods are served in small portions on child-size dishes. Don Soltero takes the food to the cave of the enanitos who sent the sickness.

After the patient's treatments have been completed Don Soltero gives him a purgative called "rositas" which is purchased in a drug store. Two days later the patient takes a temazcal bath which completes his cure. Any "aire" remaining in the patient's body after the curer's treatments leaves through the patient's sweat during the temazcal bath.

"Aire de cuevas" sickness sometimes is treated by a relative of the patient, but this is a risky procedure because an amateur often lets the "aire" escape so that it infects other persons in the house. The amateur cleans the patient for "aire" by rubbing him with eggs or herbs including ruda, pirul, and Santa Maria. Such a treatment may relieve the sick person but it will not cure him completely. Last year when Cisto Mesa got "aire de cuevas" working in the milpa near the caves of the enanitos his mother cleaned him with two eggs. Some of his "aire" escaped and the mother got "aire" sickness too, so she had to call Don Soltero to clean her and her son. Treatment of "aire" by individuals who are not curanderos is rare in Tecospa.

Don Soltero also knows how to cure the disease called "aire de noche" (night air) or "espanto" (fright). "Aire de noche" is a dangerous air exuded by earth-bound ghosts who try to frighten living persons to death. Anybody who sees one of these ghosts immediately falls ill. The symptoms of this illness vary but the most common are chills and fever, listlessness, and loss of appetite. Don Soltero treats "espanto" by rubbing a young, black chicken over the patient's entire body, concentrating on the area over the heart where the "aire de noche" is concentrated. The chicken is often killed or crippled by the "aire de noche" it absorbs from the patient's body. After this cleaning Don Soltero rubs and blows on the patient's body with his curing stones. Eggs never are used to treat "aire de noche." Don Soltero uses the same treatment to cure evil eye sickness in children. In Tecospa evil

eye sickness is produced intentionally by the local witch and unintentionally by another man who is not a sorcerer of any kind but was born with very strong vision. When either of these men looks at a child with longing he puts something evil into the child's heart. Symptoms of evil eye sickness are crying, vomiting, and diarrhea.

Don Soltero is considered to be one of the best "curanderos de aire" in the entire Milpa Alta area, and he treats many out-of-town patients. My informants told me that he is so good that doctors often call him in to help them in difficult cases. Like other "curanderos de aire" Don Soltero was born destined to become a curer. He did not inherit his calling or require any training from human beings to learn his healing art.

When Don Soltero gets drunk, as he is fond of doing, the enanitos punish him for failing to attend to the sick. His spirit wife made him fall down on the way home when he got drunk in Milpa Alta last year, and he suffered a big cut on his head. Sometimes the enanitos give him an attack when gets drunk and whip his spirit in their caves.

The enanitos not only aid Don Soltero in curing but also help him work his fields. He is the only person in Tecospa who can grow lettuce in his field. All the crops he plants produce earlier than the same crops grown by other people in town. He gets fresh vegetables all year from the caves of the enanitos located in his fields. He even gets fresh vegetables in May when all the other fields in Tecospa are dry and empty. He eats these vegetables for lunch when he is working in the field but nobody else is allowed to eat them. The enanitos who guard Don Soltero's fields give "aire de cuevas" to anybody who tries to steal his crops.

Although Don Soltero's curing techniques are totally different from those of the Siberian shaman, there is a striking similarity in the way the Mexican curandero and the Siberian shaman receive divine power to cure. The fullest account of the Siberian shaman's call to curing is contained in the life history of a Gold shaman recorded by Leo Sternberg who labels the shamanistic call "divine election." Divine election is characteristic of all Siberian shamanism.

Sternberg states that the gift of shamanism in Siberia always comes against the desire of the chosen individual. The future shaman usually is afflicted at puberty with a serious disease accompanied by fits, fainting, and hallucinations that torture him for weeks. During one of his fits or while he is dreaming, his electing spirit appears to him, commanding him to become a shaman and offering to help him. The elected one refuses to accept the burden at first, persisting in his decision until he is exhausted by spirit threats or tempted by the promises of the spirit who has chosen him. He finally submits to the spirit's demand and recovers from his

illness. From the moment of his submission the powerful spirit who healed the shaman helps him to heal others and proves useful in many other ways.

The Gold shaman's account of his relations with his spirit wife is so similar to Don Soltero's experience that I quote it below. The 20-year-old future shaman had fallen seriously ill for the first time in his life when his prospective spirit wife appeared to him.

> Once I was asleep on my sick bed, when a spirit approached me. It was a beautiful woman, her figure was very slight, she was no more than half an arshin tall (about two feet). Her face and attire were quite as those of one of our Gold women. Her hair fell down to her shoulders in short, black tresses. . . . She said . . . "Now I am going to teach you . . . the old shamans have died off and there is no one to heal people. You are to become a shaman."
>
> Next she said: "I love you. I have no husband now, you will be my husband and I shall be a wife unto you. I shall give you assistant spirits, you are to heal with their aid and I shall teach and help you myself. Food will come to us from the people."
>
> I felt dismayed and tried to resist. Then she said: "If you will not obey me, so much the worse for you. I shall kill you."
>
> She has been coming to me ever since and I sleep with her as with my own wife but we have no children. She lives quite by herself without any relatives in a hut on a mountain but she often changes her abode.[9]

Like the Mexican enanitos, Siberian spirits punish the shaman for disobedience of the suggestions they make for his mode of living and ceremonial details. If the Siberian shaman continues to disobey his spirits, they will kill him.[10]

The Siberian shaman also shares Don Soltero's power to enter the other world. The Siberian, however, can perform this feat whenever he chooses, whereas Don Soltero can enter the other world only when summoned by the enanitos.

In summing up this comparison, Don Soltero's shamanistic experiences show the following traits characteristic of classical Siberian shamanism: divine election accompanied by forced acceptance of the shamanistic call, forced marriage to a spirit wife of dwarf size, curing and divining with the aid of supernatural beings, punishment by supernatural helpers for disobedience, and the ability to enter the other world.

Unfortunately, I do not know whether other "curanderos de aire" in the Valley of Mexico share all of Don Soltero's shamanistic experiences. Divine election accompanied by forced acceptance of the shamanistic call is, I believe, typical of all "curanderos de aire" in the southern part of the Valley of Mexico. This call

9 Leo Sternberg, *Divine Election in Primitive Religion* (Proceedings, 21st International Congress of Americanists, p. 473 et seq., 1924), pp. 476-477.

10 Waldemar Bogoras, *The Chukchee* (Memoirs, American Museum of Natural History, vol. 11, Leiden, 1909), pp. 300-301.

inevitably occurs during an illness. Curing and divining with the aid of supernatural beings is another trait that probably is universal among "curanderos de aire." Don Soltero is the only curer I know, however, who has a spirit wife. I have no information for the area outside of Tecospa on the curandero's ability to enter the other world or on his punishment for disobeying the enanitos.

The resemblances between Mexican curing and Siberian shamanism may be due to independent developments or to the survival in Mexico of a shamanistic cult diffused from Siberia during ancient migrations to America. There is no historical evidence to prove either of these hypotheses.

Today the Mexican "curanderos de aire" are old people and they seem to be dying out. Younger curers learn their art at spiritualist centers in Mexico City or Xochimilco. Spiritualist curers are supposed to receive divine power to cure from spirit helpers but they also receive human instruction in curing at the temples. There are no spiritualist curers in Tecospa but the Indians sometimes consult spiritualists in Xochimilco or Mexico City when they are suffering from grave illnesses such as bewitchment which the local "curandero de aire" cannot cure.

The pattern of curing in the mestizo village of Tepepan near Xochimilco indicates a trend evident throughout the southern part of the Valley of Mexico. In Tepepan the "curanderos de aire" and the spiritualist curers are equal in number but the majority of the local inhabitants go out of town to consult urban spiritualists or doctors for serious illnesses. Belief in the enanitos and the disease of "aire" is still strong in Tepepan and shows little prospect of disappearing but today most families in town call on one of their elder members to cure a simple case of "aire" instead of consulting a "curandero de aire" as they used to do ten or fifteen years ago. If the well-known treatment of cleaning the patient with herbs and eggs fails, the sick person usually consults a spiritualist curer. Doctors do not know how to cure "aire," according to local belief.

Mexican shamanism probably will disappear within two decades when Don Soltero and the other "curanderos de aire" in the Valley of Mexico are dead. The spiritualists could be called shamans, of course, but their visions of Christian angels are a far cry from the pagan dwarfs who bestow power on Siberian shamans and Mexican "curanderos de aire."

Belief in spirits who assist in curing and divining is also common in Guatemala although sources on Guatemalan curing reveal no positive evidence of shamanism.

The Pokomam-speaking curers described by Gillin probably should be classified as shamans. One of these curers healed with the aid of a dwarf spirit named Don Avelin Caballero Sombreron. Other curers called on similar "devils" or "sprites" to bring back a patient's soul which they had magically stolen and hidden in the mountains or brush, thus producing fright sickness in the soulless victim.

Gillin does not specify whether these curers contact their spirits in dreams or visions but he does say that the curers talk directly to their spirits. He fails to disclose whether the curers received a divine gift to cure directly from supernatural beings.[11]

The Chorti Indians in eastern Guatemala and the Mam-speaking Indians of Chimaltenango in northwestern Guatemala believe that the diviner receives information from a spirit who causes his leg to twitch in code-like response to questions. Wisdom identifies the Chorti spirit as a possible representative of the sun god.[12] Wagley quotes a Chimaltenango diviner as saying that God causes the leg to jump.[13] These spirits do not communicate directly with the diviner through dreams, visions, or spirit possession. Neither Wagley nor Wisdom mentions any shamanistic gift of power received by the curer direct from supernatural beings. Wagley reports the presence of divine election in Chimaltenango where curers are stricken with critical illness and recover only by accepting the curing call from God. It is preordained by God that certain men become curers and this fate is discovered by divination during the illness of the elected individual. The Chimaltenango curer apparently acquires his curing power through training.[14]

Divine election accompanied by grave illness also is reported by La Farge for curers in the Guatemalan villages of Santa Eulalia and Jacaltenango. La Farge refers to "born shamans" in his publications on these two villages but offers no evidence that curers communicate directly with supernatural beings. He defines "born shamans" as "individuals who possess certain innate faculties, primarily magical, but who also enter to a greater or less degree into the religious structure."[15] He classifies curers, witches, soothsayers, prayermakers, and dance captains as "born" and "selected" shamans.[16] Such a sweeping definition of shamanism seems inappropriate for general usage because it embraces individuals who have little or nothing in common with Siberian shamans.

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11 John Gillin, *The Culture of Security in San Carlos: a Study of a Guatemalan Community of Indians and Ladinos* (Publication, Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University, no. 16, 1951), pp. 107-108.

12 Charles Wisdom, *The Chorti Indians of Guatemala* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940), p. 344.

13 Charles Wagley, *The Social and Religious Life of a Guatemalan Village* (Memoir, American Anthropological Association, no. 71, 1949), p. 72.

14 *Idem*, p. 74.

15 Oliver La Farge, *Santa Eulalia: the Religion of a Cuchumatán Indian Town* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), p. 149.

16 Oliver La Farge and Douglas Byers, *The Year Bearer's People* (Publication, Middle American Research Institute, Tulane University, no. 3, 1931), p. 143.

MUSICAL STYLE OF THE MODOC

JODY C. HALL AND BRUNO NETTL

THE MUSICAL STYLE of the Modoc is among the simplest yet found in North America. Songs of comparable simplicity have been found in the repertories of many tribes, but they ordinarily represent only a small segment of those repertories and are usually considered survivals of an archaic style. It is rare to have most of the songs of a tribe exhibit the simplicity of the style described here.

The material on which this study is based was recorded by Leslie Spier in 1934; copies are deposited in the Archives of Folk and Primitive Music at Indiana University. Previous work on Modoc songs was done by Jaime de Angulo and M. Beclard d'Harcourt,[1] who published two transcriptions which fit in with the stylistic picture given in this paper. Only a description of the musical style is given here. No attempt is made to discuss the cultural background of the music or the song texts. This must be reserved for future work.

The analytical procedure and symbols used in this study are based on those devised by Erich M. von Hornbostel and his co-workers, and used by Herzog.[2] However, a few additional comments on definitions and symbols follow. Letters have been used to symbolize the structural subdivisions of songs. Modifications of a section are indicated by ciphers: A^1 and A^2, for instance, are slightly different. The tones which occur in a song make up its scale. The tonic of a scale is considered to be the most important tone in the scale as determined by the following criteria: (1) occurs most often during the song; (2) occurs with sufficient length or duration to distinguish it from other tones of the scale; (3) occurs as the final tone of at least one phrase in the song; and (4) occurs as the final tone of the song. In most of the material the tone chosen as the tonic satisfies all of the above criteria. However, in two songs (nos. 7 and 10) a final or finishing tone is used which has not occurred previously in the song. Thus the tones that are used as tonics in these cases are not the song-finals. In one case (no. 1) no tone was found which clearly satisfies all the criteria, and the final tone was simply designated as the

1 *La musique des Indiens de la Californie du Nord* (Journal de la Société des Americanistes de Paris, vol. 23, pp. 189-228, 1931). The writers are indebted to George Herzog for introduction to the study of primitive music, and for suggestions regarding the organization and details of this paper.

2 George Herzog, *The Yuman Musical Style* (Journal of American Folklore, vol. 41, pp. 183-231, 1928).

tonic. The dominant, or second-most important tone in the scale, was determined by the same method.

Manner of performance. The vocal technique is generally smooth, much as in Western singing, with stresses slight and in a rhythmic manner, similar to that in which we differentiate between 6/8 and 3/4 meter by rhythmic stress. Pulsations are found in a large portion of the songs, but there they do not occur with great frequency. Shouts, while not indicated in the transcriptions, are often found at the end of those songs whose ending is not included in the recordings. There is a substantial body of material which, according to informants, can be repeated endlessly.

Approximately 38 songs were recorded by Spier (including some duplications of the same song), but only 17 of these were of sufficiently good quality to be transcribed and included here. Spier writes:

> The majority of the songs were recorded from Usie George, a middle-aged man, a minority from Peter Schonchin and his wife, both well advanced in years, survivors of the Modoc War days. All three were unfamiliar with singing into a phonograph: George's singing manner was much better than that of the Schonchin pair.

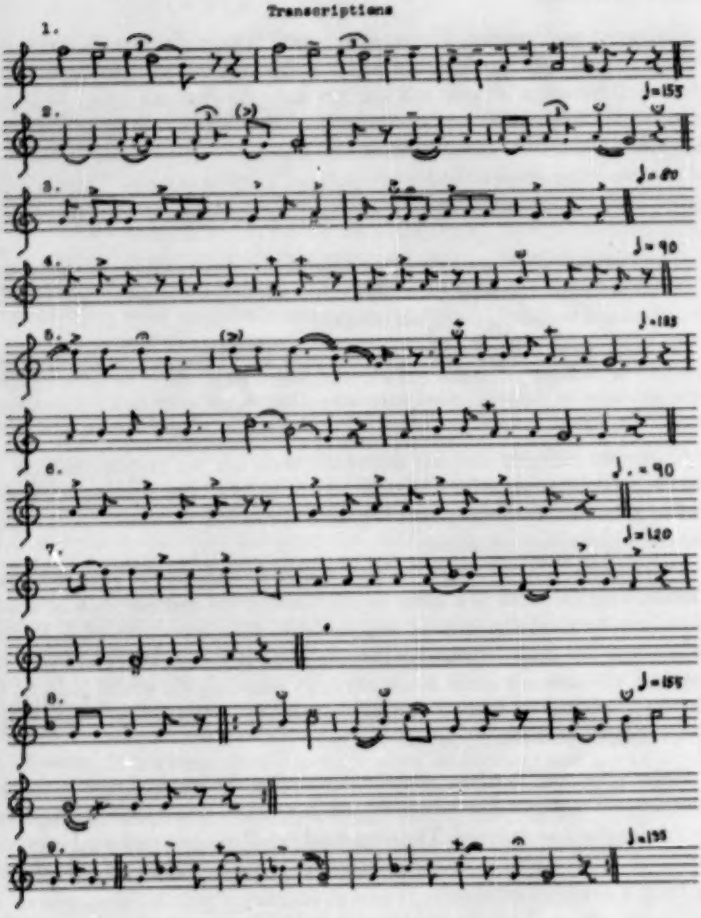
Among the melodies used for this study, there are two performances of the same song which are somewhat different (nos. 8 and 9). This evidence is corroborated by Spier's notes, which mention differences between the performances of the same songs by the two informants.

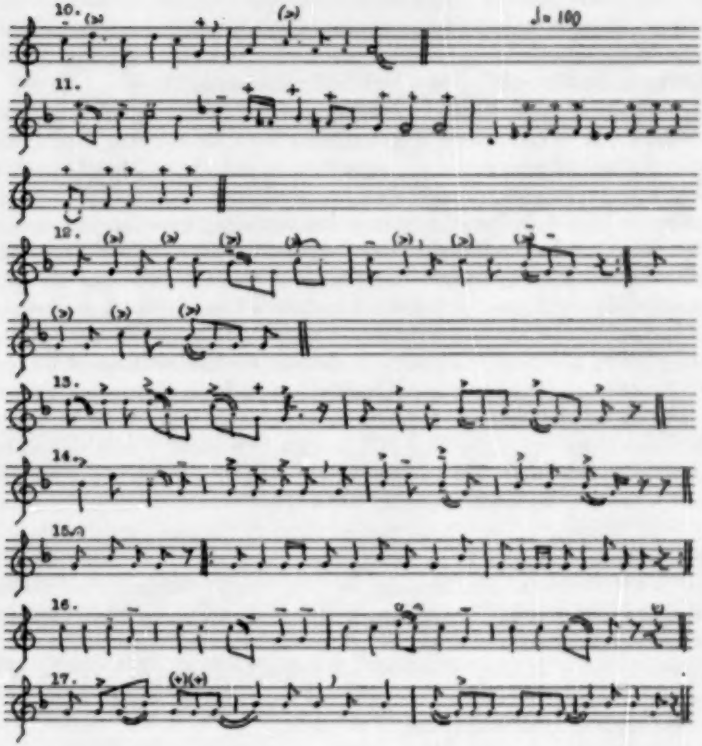
Apparently a basic performance trait is that of variation in pitch with each rendition. Rhythm varies to a lesser degree. Usually the first rendition of a song differs more from subsequent ones than the latter differ from each other. Considerable use of the glide (glissando) between notes is found. However, with few exceptions, this does not occur to the extent of obscuring the actual pitch of the tones sung. No use of falsetto has been noted. All of the music transcribed is monophonic; no part-singing has been found.

Melodic material. Analysis of the scales used in the material reveals that the widest range is that of a major seventh, with ranges of a minor third and a perfect fourth being the most common. The songs tend to fall into two separate but related classifications, according to range, arrangement of tones, and melodic characteristics. Each is discussed separately.

The first group (Type A) includes nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 12, 15, 16, and 17. Five of these are ditonic and five tritonic. The tritonic scales appear to consist of two tones which are used with great frequency, the third tone being used as a "leading," "passing," or "bridge" tone (see nos. 8, 12, 16). Usually the tonic and dominant

Transcriptions




10.
♩= 100
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17.

are determined easily. The lowest tone is always the final tone and the tonic. The dominant is either a major second, minor third, or perfect fourth above the tonic. However, use of the minor third as the dominant is found in the ditonic material but not in the tritonic. In the latter, the third is limited in its progression to either the tonic or the dominant, never to both in the same song.

The range of Type A varies according to the intervallic tonic-dominant relationship, but in no case exceeds a perfect fifth. With one exception (no. 12) the final cadential interval is that of dominant to tonic, with the tonic in all cases being either of longer duration, or repeated to give an effect of final length. The melodic contour of Type A is that of a more or less oscillating wave form between the dominant and tonic (pendulum). These songs tend to begin and end on the tonic. Only three melodies begin on the dominant (nos. 4, 6, 16). No instance is found of a melody beginning on a pitch lower than the final tone. Type A is characterized also by the fact that ranges greater than a second are accompanied by "gapped" scales—having a distance of at least a minor third between two tones of the scale, with the other scale tones separated by intervals no larger than a major second.

The second classification (Type B) includes nos. 1, 5, 7, 10, 11, 13, and 14. They have ranges varying from a fifth to a major seventh. Within this melodic type are found two songs with a heptatonic scale (nos. 1, 11), one with a hexatonic (no. 7), two with pentatonic (nos. 10, 13), and two with tetratonic scales (nos. 5, 14). Within melodic Type B the determination of the tonic is somewhat more difficult. In one song (no. 1) no tone satisfies the criteria. In the other songs the tonic is not always the final tone. In one song (no. 7) occurs the phenomenon described by Densmore: "In some songs, the melody ends on a whole tone above the tone which, in the course of the melody, has appeared to be the keynote."[3] Apparently this is the same phenomenon described by Herzog as being due to the downward drag of the melody, carrying it below the tonic "so that it must turn upward again to come to final rest on the tonic."[4]

One of the melodies (no. 10) has a final tone lower than the tonic. Apparently this is a result of the downward glide of the final release of the tone noted by Herzog[5] in the music of the Pueblos. In the Modoc material the pitch of the tones is not obscured by the glide. When a definite dominant exists in Type B, it is always a minor third or perfect fourth above the tonic, but many melodies of this type (nos. 1, 7, 13) have no definite tone which can be designated as that second

3 Frances Densmore, *The American Indians and their Music* (New York, 1926), p. 97.

4 George Herzog, *A Comparison of Pueblo and Pima Musical Styles* (Journal of American Folklore, vol. 49, pp. 283-417, 1936), p. 291.

5 *Idem*, p. 289.

in importance. The scale of this type consists of the tonic and both higher and lower tones, with the melody beginning higher than the final tone in all instances. These scales tend to be non-gapped, having no scale interval larger than a major second.

The final cadential interval is usually a major second, sometimes a minor third. A curious phenomenon is the fact that songs with wider ranges tend to have smaller cadential (final) intervals than the others.

The melodic intervals used are predominantly major seconds or minor thirds, while the fourth is limited to the beginning or final of a phrase or to the interval between the last note of one phrase and the beginning of another. In spite of the wider ranges, no melodic interval greater than a fourth has been noted.

The melodic contour of Type B conforms to the descending pattern of the Plains as described by Nettl.[6] Each song consists of a descending phrase followed by a phrase which begins on a lower tone than did the first, and may descend still more. This second or final phrase tends to flatten out, lingering on the last or penultimate pitch for several or one long tone.

Rhythmic material. The term "beat" is used to designate the regularly recurring stress which occurs in much of this material, and is used as a measure unit of duration. When stress does not occur with regularity, or when differences in stress are absent (all tones equally stressed) the term "beat" refers to the duration value of most frequent occurrence.

In most of the songs a definite but light rhythmic stress appears, much as we stress the first note of each beat in 2/4 or 6/8 meter. This stress is regular. However, in a portion of the material (nos. 1, 5, 7, 11) a regularly recurring stress is either not present or violated at times. Thus the greater portion of the songs are of metric construction, with only four songs having little evidence of meter.

A large portion of the Modoc material is symmetrical in that all major rhythmic divisions are of equal length (nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15). A modified form of symmetrical construction is found in the 4/4, 6/4, 5/4, 4/4 pattern of no. 5, the 8/4, 12/4, 8/4 of no. 7, the 4/4 plus 5/4 combinations of nos. 8, 9, and 16, and the 6/8 and 9/8 of no. 17. Less symmetrical still are no. 6, with 9/8 and 15/8, and no. 11, with 13/4 and 14/4.

Recurrence of rhythmic patterns is characteristic of the Modoc songs. Although only five songs are actually isorhythmic, the divisions of nearly all songs consist of the same rhythmic pattern repeated with slight changes.

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6 Bruno Nettl, *Stylistic Variety in North American Indian Music* (Journal, American Musicological Society, vol. 6, pp. 160-168, 1953), p. 162.

The rhythmic material is limited in that in only one song is found a note with a duration of three beats (no. 5). In only two other songs (nos. 1, 10) are found tones of two beat duration, which are not broken by pulsations. These three songs are rhythmically more complex in that a contrast of three or more durational values is used. The rest of the material consists of note values one beat in length which are subdivided into two or three equal short notes.

A common cadential rhythmic pattern is a long tone followed by a short one, sung on the same pitch. Another common final pattern has no contrast in durational values, repeating the same pitch several times. A somewhat remarkable sameness of tempo prevails in the Modoc songs. The metronome markings reveal that only two basic classifications of tempo or duration of the beat were used. One of these is approximately twice as fast as the other.

Form. The Modoc songs are basically strophic in construction. Each song consists of one to four phrases, in the following arrangements:

(1) one phrase (A);

(2) two phrases, the second of which is a variant of the first, both melodically and rhythmically (A^1 A^2);

(3) two phrases, the second of which consists of new material (A B);

(4) three phrases, the second of which is a variant of the first and the third new material (A^1 A^2 B);

(5) four phrases of varying arrangements (A B^1 A B^2, A B C D, A^1 B A^2 C).

Iterative and reverting forms are more common than purely progressive ones.[7] Seven of the songs are completely iterative (nos. 3, 4, 6, 12, 15, 16, 17), while another has iterative elements at the beginning (no. 1). Reverting forms are also frequent, six songs having this principle operative in the third of four sections (nos. 2, 5, 8, 9, 10, 13). Three songs have purely progressive forms (nos. 7, 11, 14). Some use of an introductory pattern is found in nos. 8 and 9.

Summary. The previous sections have given a general survey of the usage and performance of Modoc songs and a detailed analysis of the music itself. There is a need for further ethnological study to determine the functional use of music in the culture. The limited information available indicates that music is connected with a great many different activities.

A lack of stability in performance is found in the Modoc style. Variations in

7 For detailed definitions of the terms iterative, reverting, and progressive see Herzog, *A Comparison of Pueblo and Pima Musical Styles*, p. 305.

pitch from one rendition to the next are common, with the first rendition usually of least stability. The musical style is comparatively simple, and the songs entirely monophonic. Within the general framework indicated above, two sub-styles emerge, with the following characteristics:

Type A (nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 12, 15, 16, 17).

1. range of a perfect fourth or less;
2. ditonic or tritonic scales;
3. no tones in the melody lower than the tonic;
4. pendulum type of melodic contour, generally beginning and ending on the same tone;
5. cadential or final intervals of dominant-tonic relationship;
6. rhythmic material of only two durational values, usually characterized by frequent shifting or alternation of these values;
7. metrical construction.

Type B (nos. 1, 5, 7, 10, 11, 13, 14).

1. ranges of a perfect fifth or greater;
2. scales of four or more tones;
3. beginning tone higher than final tone;
4. descending melodic contour;
5. usually little or infrequent contrast among durational values, a full unbroken beat being the basic rhythm.

The Modoc style is distinguished by its clarity of structure. In the above typology there are several mutually exclusive categories. The tendency is to have features in complementary distribution, so that songs which fall into a type with one aspect of music as the criterion also are together in other respects. The style illustrates well the interactions of the various elements of music.

A few comparative remarks regarding the relationship of Modoc music to the rest of North American Indian music are appropriate here. The simplicity of the style is found in many gambling songs, songs from tales, and lullabies throughout the continent.[8] The general style of the areas surrounding northern California differ from that of the Modoc, however. The styles of the Northwest Coast as well as of central California are more complex in melody, range, rhythm, and scale, and seem to have specialized developments of their own. The closest relationship

8 George Herzog, *Special Song Types in North American Indian Music* (Zeitschrift für vergleichende Musikwissenschaft, vol. 3, pp. 23-33, 1934).

is probably to the music of the Great Basin, where styles are simple.[9] They have small melodic ranges, scales of four or five tones, and undulating melodic movement. Their most typical form consists of a series of phrases each of which is repeated; these could be represented by schemes such as AABB, AABBCC, AABCBC. Could it be that the Modoc style, many of whose forms consist of one repeated phrase, represent a simpler and perhaps historically earlier development of the same principle? More material is needed in order to pursue this point further. The establishment of such a relationship may be a valuable step in reconstructing the history of North American Indian music.

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9 Nettl, *op. cit.*

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